

F 2235

.B796

Copy 1





LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Chap. F/2235

No. B796 ✓

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.



STRICTURES

ON A

VOYAGE TO SOUTH AMERICA,

AS INDITED BY THE "SECRETARY TO THE [LATE] MISSION"

TO

LA PLATA:

INCLUDING OBSERVATIONS ON THE CAPABILITY OF THE SPANISH AMERICANS FOR CIVIL LIBERTY.—ON THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS (CIVIL AND MILITARY,) OF THE REVOLUTION IN BUENOS AYRES, CHILI, THE ORIENTAL BANDA, ETC.

AND ON

The Importance of Friendly Relations,

POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL,

WITH THE

INDEPENDENT STATES OF SOUTH AMERICA.

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS,

ADDRESSED TO A GENTLEMEN OF DISTINCTION AT WASHINGTON.

BY A FRIEND OF TRUTH AND SOUND POLICY.

History is a sacred subject, because *the soul of it is truth*, and where truth is, there the Divinity will reside; yet, there are some who compose and cast off books, as if they were tossing up a dish of pancakes.

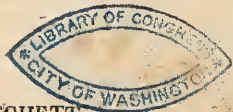
DON QUIXOTE.

Baltimore:

PRINTED BY RICHARD J. MATCHETT

.....

1820.



122510

F 4.2.2 F
B. 196



ADVERTISEMENT.

At the request of a friend, to whom I had read some pages of the annexed letter, I have consented to deliver it to the press,—“with all its imperfections on its head,”—uncopied, unpruned, and unadorned, except by rays of *truth*. It owes its miscellaneous character to the method I had conceived, of separating matters, in their nature distinct,—a conceited writer from the momentous subjects he has treated and obscured.—We have a deep interest in the welfare of South America, and ought to regard her with affection: Blows levelled against her we ought to consider as thrusts at ourselves. Her geography, history, commerce, political institutions and capabilities, are subjects universally studied.—The chaotic “Voyage” furnishes little to aid, and much to frustrate the curious enquirer. It is destitute of order, void of perspicuity, wanting in veracity, discolored with gall,—a *rudis indigestaque moles*, on which the spirit of intelligence has never breathed.—If these essential defects call not for exposure, the false encomiums of unreflecting men would provoke it.—To-day, I met with an elegant *poetical* panegyric on this “Voyage,” in a paper printed at Wilmington, in Delaware, from which I make an extract;—willing to give the opinion of others as well as my own.—

“VOYAGE TO SOUTH AMERICA.

“We would rather see our countrymen produce books of merit than gain battles; we rejoice more at Mr. Walsh’s Appeal, and Mr. Brackenridge’s Voyage than we would at another victory at New Orleans, or the capture of another *Guerriere*. Our courage and military skill are no more questioned, but our literary character is yet to be established. Antiquity is indebted for the glory that environs her more to her authors than to her generals.

“In *depth* and *accuracy of research* we know of few American books that can compete with Mr. B’s Voyage. The

labour of Mr. B. was much enhanced because many of the facts, he has so *luminously grouped*, are scattered through voluminous books written in a *foreign* language. Mind has almost as little to do with *translation* as with digging a ditch, or felling a tree. When genius condescends to drudgery, we feel, in a higher degree, the regret caused by seeing a high-mettled racer harnessed to a dray."

There's for you! *Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite, Graii cedite* all of ye!—With Mr. WALSH I have no business, at present:—a few years ago, I corrected his *monarchical writings* with all the severity of satire.—*If* he has not relinquished his anti-republican tenets, as his good sense should dictate, he has at least drawn his pen in a *national* cause, and in behalf of humanity.—I applaud his latter conduct as sincerely as I condemned his first. He still adheres to political heresies imbibed from his original profession,—the *coaction* of precedent, the *supremacy* of the judiciary power,—(in its nature a subordinate, or at most a co-ordinate branch of the government!) but we cannot blame *an order of men* for cherishing an *esprit de corps*.—Assumption is natural to *them*; and for that reason it were madness in *us* to make them our *political* oracles.—He is endowed with talent, employ it as he may.

I cannot assent to the opinion of the Delawarian respecting the drudgery of translating: I could not prescribe a more instructive, agreeable exercise to any person desirous of cultivating language, or improving his mind. It affords time for meditating on the thoughts of others and comparing them with our own. It tends to cure us of illiberal vanity, by opening the mines of foreign lore to our inspection: it assures us, that genius and learning are not necessarily confined to any particular country, but that the tree of knowledge may thrive in every climate. What is genius without discipline or study, but an *ignis fatuus*?—The mind is formed, knowledge is accumulated by studious labor; and the man, who has not collected some literary treasure, ought not to be too eager about composing books.

Ludere qui nescit, campestribus abstinet armis.

For *this* reason I agree with the eulogist, that his friend the "Secretary" ought *not* to translate for the public, until he learn his exercises under a preceptor,—as appears from his

book. Yes, it is true that a *genius* must work like a *ditcher* or a *dray-horse*, unless like the Secretary he can be “deep learned and shallow read.” I must not dispute about *inspiration!*

Oh! nature's noblest gift—my gray goose-quill!
 Slave of my thoughts, obedient to my will,
 Torn from thy parent bird to form a pen,
 That mighty instrument of little men,
 To paint a monster in his murky den.

“What wits! what authors! dost thou daily raise,
 How frequent is thy use, how small thy praise!
 Condemn'd at length to be forgotten quite,
 With all the pages which 'twas thine to write,
 But thou, at least, mine own especial pen!
 Once laid aside, art now assumed again,”
 To render homage to the social laws,
 And sketch a parricide to freedom's cause.

“When vice triumphant, holds her sovereign sway,
 And men through life her willing slaves obey;
 When folly, frequent harbinger of crime,
 Unfolds her motley store to *suit the time*;
 When *allied orders* over all prevail,
 When justice halts, and rights begin to fail;
 E'en then the boldest start from public sneers
 Afraid of shame, unknown to other fears,
 More darkly sin, by satire kept in awe,
 And shrink from ridicule, if not from law.

“Such is the force of wit! but not belong,
 To me, the arrows of satiric song;
 The public vices of our age demand
 A keener weapon and a mightier hand.
 Still there are follies, e'en for me to chase
 And yield at least amusement in the race.”
 Or gay or thoughtful with the changeful theme:
 “The cry is up, and scribblers are my game.”

[LORD BYRON, chiefly.]

I hope, my venerable friend, now at Washington, will not discard my first letter, for the *motley* matter prefixed to it.—I have shunned ridicule as much as possible; but, the *ridiculous* was often displayed before me. If the “Secretary” exhibits a gallimaufry, the exposition must partake of the medley. In *future* letters we shall strive to forget the unfortunate author, if not his deceptive book: the gravity of narration indeed will not bear an association with extraneous topics.—If lei-

sure permit, I shall so arrange some valuable materials as to reflect farther light on events in La Plata and Chili, &c. If not, I rely on an abler hand to present the desirable information in a better style than that of this notice. It is a hasty thing,—a forced march in the service of truth.—Yet, I am greatly deceived if the tissue that required *eighteen months* for fabrication, has not been unwoven in ten days. Much malignity has been decomposed, and an antidote furnished against the remainder.

An Impertinent N. B. disconnected with the Book—entirely.

The government of Buenos-Ayres, (i. e. the late Administration,) disturbed by the reverberation of their victims' moans, and more confounded at their expositions of tyranny, began to study political catakoustics;—having already made a grand progress in the casuistical arts of extenuation, subdivision and *justification!*—They reasoned thus:—"If we are not able to silence truth, we shall succeed in drowning it by a louder clamor. As idolatrous priests overwhelm the cries of those they sacrifice, by the brazen clang of trumpets, so shall we conceal the groans of the dying, and the wrongs of the dead. Calumny being the natural shield of oppression—those whom we have proscribed and slain in South America, must be deprived of sympathy in North America. It is a contest between the living and the lifeless.—These can at most present but the pleadings of paleness and gashes.—Their eloquence is dumbness:—but *we* can scatter their ashes to the four winds of heaven, (as Sylla did those of Marius) and fill the earth with fictitious stories of their infamy.—We hold the reins of power; *we* possess the tempting ore. Our enemies talked of liberty; we must harp on *independence*. They *would* liberate the Indians, and (in their *exalted ideas*) elevate them to the rank of citizens. We shall propose to emancipate the continent, and perpetuate noble orders under pretence of rewarding merit." Of the monologue I heard no more; but this arrested my attention.—I was ever since a keen observer of events and rumors, though merely a spectator."

A resolution was taken by the faction of Buenos Ayres, (who judged of our habits by their own) to appoint fiscals from among our citizens here; in the hope, that when enlisted as lawyers, they would perform the incidental duty of defending

their arbitrary measures also. In their first application, they were repulsed. Honorable men would not be retained in any other than their professional capacity. What occurred subsequently, is a secret; excepting the frequent creakings of some abject presses here during the past summer and autumn, under various misrepresentations, with the signature of a lone but busy "B;" and without it.—He sometimes worked for the hive without humming. Perhaps, however, it *might* have been the result of that *extreme independence* for which our present newspapers are proverbial: the printers' disinterestedness, and the volunteer advocate's *simplicity*, are the antipodes of collusion. Surely, no printer would become a deputy-prostitute—i. e. the creature of a *hireling*. The modest advocate himself has hushed his notes on *that tune* since the 13th of November last, and some surmise that he must have died of the yellow fever: others guess that he shivers at the threat of a *residencia*, and is weaving an apology for his unfeeling aspersions on the *republicans* of Buenos Ayres and Chili. Opinions are equally diverse respecting his motives; the question being debated to this hour. C. conjectures, that from meanness and poverty, he had sallied forth on the highway of sycophancy, equipped *cap-a-pie* to praise the D—I for his patronage, or plunder patriots of their brightest gem—their reputation.—(But C. is "an austere man.") D. ascribes his zeal to the earnest belief of a mind half insane, that it was charitable to vindicate murderers whom every body abhorred, and to malign worthies, at whose persecutions every worthy man was enraged: That the author saw every thing inverted, and spoke or argued like no other being above ground: that, in fact, his feelings were not human, and he was a pitiable, not a censurable object. E. repeated with a significant shrug, the Spanish proverb,—"*Nadie seria mesonero, si no fuese por dinero.*" No fee, no lawyer; no trouble without recompense. Would a man brave infamy for nothing? I am not sorry for the man's death, but I hope he repented even at the eleventh hour.—E. wisely suspended his opinion to obtain farther evidence.—G. thought that Artigas durst not show his face in Baltimore, without his gauchos at his back; and H, on the contrary, clenched his fist and swore, "I'll be d—d, gentlemen, if the pensioned biographer would think himself at home out of Buenos Ayres. He used to frolick at old E——'s like a fish.

A dark cloud seemed hanging over him, and he drew off the lightning by its *vapours*; "which, if you are electricians, you comprehend; if not, not." I. disliked enigmas and whispers, and hoped that some gentlemen meant no more than met the ear.—K. thought killing without trial a dreadful symptom. And L. thinks, the princess *Leopoldina* a lovely woman.—M. was adverse to mummery, backbiting and colloguing; and compared the levity of some gentlemen to laughter at a funeral procession. Unseasonable pleasantry, he said, was like the jests of a grave-digger.

From matter so loose and contrariant, I can extract nothing.—If there be any *coincidence* between the *newspaper publications* and *the book*, it is accidental and natural. As the author of one is dead, let the other have a fair trial by the judgment of his peers.—The former wished to obtain an office to the South, for he had an *itching palm*; but he hid himself in a tomb, (poor fellow!) without procuring his wishes.—The latter is a high-minded man, who "would not flatter Neptune for his trident," nor coax a government for an appointment, either in Florida, or Louisiana; for Buenos Ayres or Brazil.—To be sure he is in love with *New-Holland*, the undoubted seat of the Elysian Fields.

Reader! at present it is not necessary for you to know the Author of this examination; it is enough that the writer of the "Voyage" is acquainted with the *exponent's* pen. To him I am unmasked.

January, 17, 1820.

STRICTURES

ON A

Voyage to South America.

LETTER I.

Baltimore, 10th January, 1820.

My very esteemed friend,

Whilst I was lately on a visit at Washington, several of my friends, yourself among the number, enquired, "What is your opinion of B——'s *Voyage to South America*?" and I invariably answered; It is a scandalous *book*; but I might have added, morally and politically corrupt. It is the most plausible defence which the pettifogger could frame for the military and political tyranny exercised in La Plata and Chili, and therefore a disgrace to our country.—To you sir, I am bound to establish my assertion respecting this performance.—Yet as neither adulation nor censure is mingled with my motives for undertaking the present exposition, I frankly assure you, that individual friendship ardent as it is, could not alone have vanquished my repugnance to an unwelcome task: allied however, with *amor patriæ* it is irresistible.—Accept then, this humble tribute, as an offering to one of the purest and strongest of the social feelings, and an "oblation to those principles," for which you took up arms in 1775, and for which our southern brothers are now heroically maintaining "the battle of America against Europe."—If I be instrumental in undeceiving my fellow-citizens in matters of great moment; if I impose future silence on defamers of freedom; if I exhibit accurate views of parties, politics, persecutions, and usurpations in the states of La Plata and Chili,—their commerce and power;—above all, if by this domestic review, I contribute aught to rescue our loved country in the eyes of foreigners from one of the charges so frequently alleged against us in the lump, in their courts of criticism, I shall be richly rewarded. And if in the conscientious pursuit of those leading objects, I should merit your honest approbation, I shall be proud. I have sifted facts, but have not studied expression. There was no superfluous leisure for attending to rules of composition: nor will you condemn my negligence, though the flying vehicle of my thoughts, be like the "hunting razor," adapted only for an hasty excursion. You had rather receive one line from the heart, than twenty dictated coldly from the head.—'Tis well! I am the nearer to my friend while no copyist stands between us. It is not to be concealed, that in this my ramble, we must encounter some sad sources of grief and bitterness, but there are springs of amusement

also.—Should we dissect moral carcasses, it will be only for instruction and warning to moral life and purity.

As the flagitious "Voyage" was "got up" principally for the market of Buenos Ayres, to be there re-echoed and cited as the sentiment of the United States! this notice of the commodity will help to advertise the simple—of its quality.

But, lo! already the retributive course of cause and effect. Insidious arts have doubled on themselves; and the snake who had coiled himself up to strike deadly venom into others, feels anguish from his own fangs.—Or, to drop the similitude: the "Voyage" is a drug;—and its wretched author, (*tolerated for a moment* through mistaken delicacy,) is unmasked by his own sycophancy—fallen by this publication, to rise no more.—To bring such ephemeral characters to the light is to destroy them.—How scrupulous should men be to keep on good terms with their own hearts!—Conscientious honor is a shield against censure from without; but what can protect a man from upbraidings within!

First impressions on men of sensibility are deep and strong;—being in the moral as in the natural world, proportioned to the impressive force, or efficient cause. When we meet meanness or malevolence in an author who assumes the character of an instructor, we feel indignation, and are apt to express it abruptly; but, when, to these qualities, a writer adds absolute incompetency, moral and intellectual, (of heart and head,) to investigate the subject he undertakes, he infallibly provokes our laughter. In this case, as a modern apologist makes Puerreydon say of his declining popularity, "*De la risa al desprecio no hay gran distancia*," &c. the distance is short between laughter and contempt, &c. Disdain and detestation will for a while dispute for mastery; but finally, as in all experiments of *checks* and *balances* the contents of two scales steal into one; the two powers will coalesce by affinity, and form a third principle different from either though *composed of both*! As I met with all those disgusting qualities in the "Voyage to South America," I could not conceal my dissatisfaction: Now it becomes us to speak with deliberation: *scripta litera manet*. He who condemns others must himself be doubly scrupulous not to offend. Veneration for truth, for the personage I address; respect for myself and for the great subjects involved, effectually preponderate against the propensity to disdain, which tempts me at every line I peruse in this *peerless* book. I dare not, will not swear to be always grave:—I pledge myself to no impossibility: but, I pawn my honor, that I shall be uniformly impartial, and speak of the living with such candor and justice as I would of the dead.

This work too seems foisted on the public under the deception of an official title; "Voyage to South America, performed in the years, 1817 and 1818, in the frigate Congress, by (the admirable author himself, late) secretary to the mission," viz. of Messrs. BLAND, RODNEY, and GRAHAM.

You, my revered friend, have been abroad; you have found yourself released in foreign countries from the narrow shackles of party spirit, and you beheld in the United States only your country. Its defects were enveloped in the obscurity of space, as its promontories were hidden from the sight by the convexity of the globe, (not to speak

of other causes no less insurmountable;) and *its honor* like other adored objects, became if possible still dearer from distance. Whatever tended to tarnish that brilliant gem affected your sensible heart and rubified your cheek. A floating rumour, or a silly paragraph in a gazette, would sometimes make your arteries beat vehemently. The instance you related from your own experience, was remarkable, as it was honorable to your nature.—Why is it ordained, thought I, that in the commerce of the great human family, the worthless can thus lay the worthy under contribution, and the callous disturb the sensitive, almost to a degree of torture. Such sensations are more vapid when we happen to be amongst a people on whose uninformed minds foreign agents are endeavoring to stamp unfavorable prepossessions against our country or the character of its government. They watch for errors, like ill-natured critics; distort good actions, and magnify the pettiest defects; generous policy, they ascribe to a selfish motive; and a cautious course they interpret into coldness or hostility; whilst we find it irksome to repel invidious arguments, and are forced perhaps to retaliate illiberality by unworthy recriminations, or odious comparisons.

I have had a *little* experience of the same kind, but in an humbler sphere, and can estimate your feelings by my own. I was absent some time ago, in * * * * * and would often look for the most vapid newspapers with as eager curiosity as for a casket of diamonds: when lo! a bundle of gazettes arrive. I open them—discover many an interesting item: Two thousand houses repaired in one city during a single summer:—a list of more than *forty steam boats*, meets my eye. Canals, after the glorious example of *New York*, are about to intersect every state, as in *China*, or a part of *Russia*;—and *Agricultural Societies* spring up with the rapidity of vegetation in the *Torrid Zone*: *Boards of Public Works* are instituted here, *Canal Commissioners* are appointed there. I boast of the prosperity of my country, and throw in a pointed hint on the efficacy of a free government to nerve industry, stimulate invention, secure property, and promote happiness.

I espy a table of exports from *South Carolina*, and an estimate of the annual crops in *Virginia*.—I make a flourish on the margin of those gazettes, and lend them with my rubrick, all around.—This file of gazettes proved to be like Pandora's box inverted: the worst were undermost. *Lucubrations on the revolutions of North and South America*, next turn up, replete with absurdity and bloated with vanity; written evidently from imagination, not from memory, and possessed of all the advantage which an author of eminent wit and humour believes fiction to have over fact,—among a people very prone to enjoy the *envied felicity of being well deceived*.* If you credit those scribblers, we were

*The ironical and profound rogue to whom I allude, a fellow who appears to have stolen and treasured up all the knowledge among men, though richer than a Jew in his unrivalled talents, gives recondite reasons for his opinion, viz, That all the adjuncts and properties of happiness will herd under this short definition, *that it is a perpetual possession of being well deceived*. Fiction holds the vantage ground of truth, "because the imagination can build nobler scenes, and produce more wonderful revolutions, than fortune or nature will be at the expense to furnish."

so free *before* the revolution, that the Declaration of Independence must be a whining catalogue of imaginary grievances drawn up by some hypochondriac who surveyed all objects,—the policy of kings, and movements of colonies, through the illusions of his own black melancholy! *Every line of the turgid nonsense flatters the northern portion of this hemisphere at the expense of the southern.* I am enraged,—hide away frothy effusions first, and at a convenient opportunity subject them to the *purification of fire*; heartily but inwardly cursing the ignoramuses, or the hirelings who “abuse” our “press as damnably” as the king’s press was misused in raising Fallstaff’s ragged recruits.

Insolvent notices, and bank frauds turn up in numbers, with the next leaf. Mercantile failures, thought I, are the natural effect of cupidity: where thousands adventure in a lottery, many must draw blanks. All that a wise government is bound to do in the business, is to avoid enticing crowds to engage in games of chance. In this light, the *enormous proportion* of bankruptcies shows that the principles of society are not so *well* understood by the citizens and their representatives as they should be; and ignorance of any kind is a discommendation. Far more disgraceful is the enumeration of abuses in banking,—collusion in the purchase of stock, extravagance in the emission of notes, deterioration of currency, the ruin of private fortunes, the enrichment of paper-stampers, misdemeanor, spoliation and suffering in every point of the compass. Who tempted our Legislators into these *monstruosities*, or what degraded the people to submit to them? Whence did our law-makers derive *their* “authority” to *divest eleven men of their rights in order to clothe the twelfth*, (a ***** perhaps) with *privilege*? Was the revolution only atchieved that we might *commence another round* of incorporation, inequality, injustice, and tyranny? Did our Declaration of Independence, our Bills of Rights, or our Constitutions authorise this political robbery? *No!* they do not even countenance it. Yet we have begun the work of usurpation already. We have shaken off a foreign yoke to little purpose, if we passively consent to wear fetters from a domestic forge. Shall we,—we who boast such profundity and superiority, shall we mimic the strange whims of the Spaniards, who have driven out every race of foreign invaders, and then bowed

As our erudite and celebrated *voyager* has practised literally in what the humorous Swift applauds, satirically. I give the remainder of the passage for illustration: “Nor is mankind so much to blame in being thus determined in his choice, if we consider that the debate merely lies between things past and things conceived: and so the question is only this,—whether things that have place in the imagination may not as properly be said to *exist*, as those that are seated in the memory; which may be justly held in the affirmative, and very much to the advantage of the former,—since this is acknowledged to be the womb of things, and the other allowed to be no more than the grave. Again,—if we take this definition of happiness and examine it with reference to the senses, it will be acknowledged wonderfully adapt. How fading and insipid do all objects accost us that are *not* conveyed in the vehicle of delusion! how shrunk is every thing, as it appears in the glass of nature! so that if it were not for the assistance of artificial mediums, false lights, refracted angles, varnish and tinsel, there would be a mighty level in the felicity and enjoyments of mortal men.” (Sec. IX. in Tale of a Tub, the digression concerning madness.)

their necks to a despot of their own? A plural tyranny too in the guise either of mercantile privilege or lawyer-privilege,—is the most galling imaginable. Under a monarchy, liberation may be obtained by deposing one mortal man; but, *an order of men*, a band of associates who never die, who act on a deliberate system, feel the *esprit de corps* and steadily follow its maxims,—how shall we extricate ourselves from these if we suffer them to gain footing among us? *Know thyself! know thyself!* Nations and individuals would be modester and wiser by a little self-examination. And, the newspaper press is silent under these *deadly encroachments*,—nay, is wielded as their auxiliary! The nation that “would not suffer the lion to invade it” now sits down supinely to be devoured by rats! The *press* too, that was vainly supposed to be endowed with saving influence, the preserver, the palladium of civil liberty! how did I execrate it as a traitor! All these empty, *rhetorical personifications* fled in an instant: the illusion that had dazzled my eyes for years, disappeared at once, and I sat wondering at past folly. “The press,” said reflections, “is but a copyist: It multiplies impressions for those who employ it; and is most at the service of the rich and powerful;” because they can best reward it.

As usurpers generally rise from these classes, they sound their way by perverting the press; and their first ambitious projects are advanced under color of public good. It is not wise to magnify or to underrate the value of this machine. It is the instrument of good or harm; may be employed by the philosopher or patriot, the traitor or the demagogue. With this suggestion, I turned over another gazette, thinking, that we had not gained so much as was desirable by banishing dictatorial licensors, if the machinery formerly directed by despotic agents, were to be managed by ignorance, or controuled by patronage. This compensatory sheet was to make amends for all disgust. It announces an intellectual banquet! The sciences are dawning in the West, and *wise men* shall come from the East, to behold and learn, to wonder and worship. Some crazy projector in Ohio, seems emulous of the celebrity of PARTRIDGE, the Almanack maker: To snatch equal fame from the plaudits of mankind, he directs a chain of propositions to the scavans of America, every one of which betrays the completest ignorance of the elements of natural philosophy, and of *long known* experiments which established facts, now notorious on the subject.—Forgetting the principles of *Newton*, ignorant of the observations of *Maskelyne* at the mountain Schehallien, and of the elaborate calculations of *Hutton*; having never heard a whisper of the ingenious experiments of *Cavendish*, which by a different process nearly proved the same results with regard to the earth’s density and attractive power, the lunatic suggests a string of nonsense on the *concavities* of the solid globe.* He conceives that a set of nests are curiously built, and art-

*The absolute gravity or density of the whole mass of our globe ought now to be as familiar as the alphabet. It was calculated and ascertained by Dr. *Hutton*, from *Maskelyne’s* observations in 1774, 1775, and 1776, at the mountain Schehallien, in Perthshire. The attraction of that mountain on a plummet of lead being observed on both sides of it, [North and South, as at Chimborazo in 1736,] and

fully concealed in the subterraneous parts of the hollow earth, which he is very eager to descend and rob. The more the arcanum is buried, the more anxious he is to inspect it,* and immortalize himself by an unprecedented discovery. If Theseus and Gulliver and Epistemon visited the shades, why might not our philosopher creep half way towards the earth's centre and fathom the other half? He knew not, that atmospherical pressure would squeeze his poor carcase as flat as a flounder, before he had cleverly begun his downward pilgrimage! If the Indian sage was content in fancying that our globe reposed on the shelly back of a tortoise, our western sage was nigh proving to his own satisfaction, and that of some correspondents, (not a whit inferior to him in cosmogeny or world making) that it leaned on a wool sack or something of the sort, like an English chancellor. The illiterate passive press copies all his ravings; and it seemed anxious that not a fragment of the banquet should be lost. *Thus encouraged*, he strikes up a correspondence with foreign potentates, emperors, philosophers;—one hemisphere being too narrow for the display of his transcendent doctrines. All his effusions were copied by the press. I wished inconsiderately at the moment for a *philosophical licenser* to prevent a stupid gazetteer from disgracing us by the insertion of articles reproachful to our national character, "*I deserved the bastille for it.*" It was feeling not opinion. Better, that a thousand follies be printed than that one piece of wisdom be suppressed on any pretence.—We will soon learn to correct what is disreputable to us;—and golden truths will be received with avidity; the dross will be thrown out of circulation.—Our *Franklins*, our *Jeffersons*, our *Adrians*, *Bowditches*, and *Craigs*, our learned statesmen and divines, chemists and geologists, shield us from general reproach, with regard to political and moral science, mathematical and physical knowledge; but as none of their beams appeared on this occasion to be reflected on the ministers of the press, I could not prevent a little suffusion of shame at the injured credit of our community.—Still, this is a venial sin, we may say, and other nations or foreign governments attempt impossibilities, which none but individuals dream of amongst us. England would sail to the arctic pole through ten or twelve degrees of solid ice; for, at no less distance does the line of perpetual congelation pass below the earth's surface. All the ardour of ambition cannot melt this crystalline mound;—but England in the hopeless trial, will ascertain the farthest bourne of navigation towards the polar regions,—if the "*ultima Thule*" is yet unknown.

its mass being computed from a number of sections in all directions, and consisting of stone; these data being then compared with the known attraction and magnitude of the earth, gave by proportion its *mean density*, which is to that of water as 9 to 2, and to common stone as 9 to 5: from which very considerable mean density, it may be presumed that *the internal parts contain great quantities of metals*. [See Hutton's Mathematical and Philosophical Dictionary, and Mathematical Tracts:]

If to half its depth from the surface, the earth be composed of the ordinary materials known to us, the residue of the globe from thence to the centre must be of the density of solid iron, which is to water as about 7 to 1, or 7645 to 1000. (*See tables of specific gravities second volume.*)

It was with feelings somewhat similar, that I beheld Symmes's propositions and the *Voyage to South America*. On reading this work, one is puzzled to decide, whether incompetency or depravity had the greater share in its composition. It is indeed a nice point to determine whether poverty of knowledge or contempt for veracity has the superiority.—When a thing of this kind appears on a subject likely to implicate our individual character with foreign states, or people, it is paying them but a decent tribute of respect to repel the insult where it is given, and vindicate our own fame by a just regard to that of others.—It would probably save much foolish acrimony, were each nation to make an *erratum* of its own errors on these delicate points. It naturally belongs to every society to foster the virtues and chastise the vices of its own members; to expose delinquency, and reward merit.—These letters will be an attempt in favor of the moral justice here recommended.—The want of some information on this head is remarkably proclaimed in the following extract from a periodical work deservedly popular and truly respectable,—a work, which has much influence on public opinion, because it is conducted with assiduous labour and ability, by a gentleman known for his disinterestedness and public spirit:—In *Niles's Weekly Register* of the 30th of October, 1819, appeared the hyperbolical commendation which follows:—

“*Brackenridge's Voyage to South America*.—This interesting work is just now published, in two neat octavo volumes, price five dollars. Some extracts from it have been presented to the readers of the Register, and we venture to say that it contains a greater mass of important information respecting the countries visited, than EVER BEFORE, and ALL TOGETHER was known to the people of the United States.—Every body is acquainted with the fitness of Mr. B. for a work like this; and he has executed the task in HIS very best manner.”

It seems impossible that the editor could have written this puff.—A glance at the antiquated, ridiculous map, prefixed to the “Voyage,” would have convinced him how little our author had profited by the modern labors of Messrs. *D'Arcy de la Rochette* and *Humboldt*.

If every body be not aware of the learned Secretary's qualifications for a work requiring capacity, elevation of mind, generosity of heart, devotion to truth, and attachment to principles of liberty, it will be my fault if his talents as a writer are not better known. Neither in authorship nor in politics, you see, any more than in *geometry*, is it safe to decline judging for ourselves for a single instant. We ought to be answerable to the Supreme Author of Intelligence for the use or abuse of our intellectual faculties; and to ascertain our diligence or remissness in this trust, “must be, (as Sterne says of another matter,) the great use of the day of judgment.” It would no doubt be a great advantage to morality, and for aught I know, to theology, if this day of reckoning were appointed to each mortal man and woman during lifetime, (and before the epoch of dotage;) because the moral world like the commercial, suffers grievous calamities, distress and bankruptcy, by an excessive extension of *credit*.—How far drafts on the treasury of the next world should settle accounts in this, I dare not presume to discuss, lest “the Cordeliers should be upon my jacket”.—

That class of gentry have an observatory of their own, and pretend to see objects unknown to others.—No man must venture within their precincts, or take up their spy-glass, under risk of anathemas. It would seem to be some apology for entering consecrated limits, that the present generation are devout, and the age may be entitled *pious*: Does not *Alexander the Deliverer*,—whose triumphs we celebrated with orations and revelry *in this republic*,—does not he, the august autocrat of all the Russias, and Poland into the bargain, preside one day at a Missionary and Bible Society;—extinguish the press by an ukase the next, and offer 400,000 *bayonets*, (the slaves who carry them are not worth counting,) to exterminate the reformers of Germany?—As this age is also distinguished by another extravagance, that might be called *precedent run mad*; when the pattern of *weakness* or *profligacy* is converted into a system,—when *fact* is seized to annihilate *principle*, and subject reason to the authority of folly;—what harm would it be at such a time to steal a proverb from Solomon or Sancho, if it be adapted to the purpose? I think it only necessary to protest against the frequent cant use of scripture, which I detest still more than the cant of criticism.—In the repositories of princely wisdom, there are truisms and denunciations sufficient to authorise this review, if I had no other grounds for undertaking the *residencia*.

“A faithful witness will not lie, [that’s certain;] but a false witness will utter lies.” c. xiv. 4.

“A righteous man hateth lying; but a wicked man is loathsome, and cometh to shame.” c. xiii. 5.

“A true witness delivereth souls: but a deceitful witness speaketh lies.”

“A false witness shall not be unpunished: and he that speaketh lies shall perish.” c. xix. 9.

Of which all concerned may take due notice, and govern themselves accordingly.—But, I must disclaim all this authority; it being *now* forbidden by all the laws of courtesy, or even common civility to give any son of Adam the lie. That remnant of pious and heroic politeness went into perpetual exile with chivalry.—In its meridian indeed, appeals were made to the Deity every day, to witness a solemn duel, and give victory to justice. This part of the request being unregarded,—superior prowess and dexterity won the *wager* of battle, and the custom ceased when it was discovered that Omnipotence would not deign to be a partizan in the frays of despicable mortals. I leave it to divines (who know all about it!) to judge how presumptuous it was to require the Great Supreme to become a second or bottle-holder, in a prize-fight between nations or individuals, like Homer’s factious Gods. When kings and nobles had arbitrated in vain the accusation of the count of Estaviel, against Otho, lord of Granson, the former in full assembly renewed his charge of murder, and threw down the gage of battle. No sooner had he finished than Otho, then sixty years old, rose indignantly from his seat, and having signed himself with the sign of the cross, addressed the judges in turn:—

“In the name of the Holy Trinity, of St. Anne, and of the Blessed Daughter, I do here declare *Gerard of Estaviel* to be a liar. There are ample grounds, most noble lords, upon which I might defer this com-

bat, in which it is my intention to prove his falsehood, viz. that we might have time to purify our souls before God, to examine our limbs, if they are sound and healthful, and to prepare our horses and arms for the fight. &c. &c. But there lives not the man whom Otho of Granson fears. To-morrow, this very moment, most valiant knights, am I prepared to maintain my own innocence, and to prove the falsehood of my antagonist. "This day have I reached my sixtieth year." (*See Naylor's Helvetic Republics, vol. ii. 152.*)

Such was the principle, and such the practice of that age. Equal asseverances, pro and con, were the prelude to every duel. Thus Shakespeare copies the usage, in Richard II.

Bolingbroke, ————— for what I speak
My body shall make good upon this earth,
Or my divine soul answer it in Heaven.—
Thou art a traitor and a miscreant, &c.

Mowbray.—I do defy him—and I spit at him;
Call him a slanderous coward, and a villain!
Meanwhile, let this defend my loyalty,
By all my hopes, most falsely doth he lie.

If we are not less superstitious now-a-days, we are less rude,—and certainly more reasonable. Men being equal to one another in assertion, it is a wholesome custom, which demands from disputants, their proofs. Instead of tilting before the public, as heretofore on neighing steeds, the parties are summoned to reason the case before that awful judge.—The pen supplants the spear; knightly harness gives way to solid argument, to impartial testimony, and indisputable facts. The forfeiture, however, is severer than before. There, it was loss of life; now, the blight of reputation. The revolution is favorable to social reason, morals and justice. Contests are reduced to a comparison of opinions, and an exhibition of evidence. Yet, when the pen is perverted to inflict a slanderous stab, it ought to be turned (for truth) against the assailant; and, that is my resolve:—

"He that is first in his own cause, (says Solomon again) *seemeth just*, but his neighbour cometh and searcheth him."

The right of search is now *conceded*—if not to the privy council and judicature of Britain; at least, to the physical force of her navy; and constitutes a sort of rule in parallel cases. He who refuses to submit to it, is fired into as if he were a pirate.—In truth, the last text may be regarded as a *search-warrant*; by virtue of which, and of my own impulse, I intend to recover the truth amidst the lumber of error, which our "Secretary" has heaped over it. I shall endeavor to correct the *reckonings* of our *voyager*, and calculate his *lee-way*, when I find him egregiously at fault,—yelping false notes like an untrained beagle. If you please, my friend, I pray you to bear us company. With such a Mentor, the ardent enquirer would seldom run on shoals, and the devotee of truth and independence, be more rarely cast away on the bleak, icy shores of ingratitude. As you have condescended to minister to my pleasure and instruction, by a frank disclosure of your sentiments on the most *ticklish* subjects, I shall repay your confidence in the tribute of grateful esteem, and consult you without reserve. Should

I employ a little ridicule in *this* epistle, I do not use it as a "test of truth," but a good caustic for untruth.

To write comments on the numberless blunders of this *Voyage*, singulatum, as children heap up hillocks of sand, would not only swell the review to a mountainous bulk, but murder method, and exhaust your patience. Though its incoherence renders it difficult to systematize this notice, I shall attempt to give you some samples of his reasoning and mode of thinking on various subjects; then detect misstatements in history, law; geography, and substitute the truth in their stead.—We shall thus unravel the intricacy of plots and parties, and discover that the *Voyage* is resolvable, like all erroneous books, into errors of fact, false logick, and mistaken opinions: that the author labors to support a distinction between independence and liberty, and becomes a *bitter partizan* against the advocates of the latter, in Buenos-Ayres, Chili, Banda Oriental, &c. while he defends their antagonists with all his powers: that he endeavors to soothe prejudices and apologises for Brazilian tyranny and aggression, in order to conciliate corruption.—Falling into frequent discrepancies, he often answers himself, and shortens the reviewer's task in exposing absurdity.

I was in hopes of his amendment from the dignified castigation he had received from a *South American** gentleman in Philadelphia, for his unfeeling censure against the people of Pernambuco. In his letter to Mr. Monroe, our voyager had confessed, in page 34, that, in the late contest with England, the "King of Brazils *leaned rather to the side of our enemy*;" yet, he says in the next breath,—“I must confess, *I felt hurt* at the manner in which the late insurrection was noticed in our newspapers. With respect to the insurrection at Pernambuco, we were led into an error by confounding it with the struggle of the patriots, while their situation and their cause were, in fact, very different; whatever we may think of the form, the Brazilians had already obtained the great object for which the Americans are contending,—a *government within themselves!*” &c. i. e. a despotical king.

He “felt hurt!” why my friend?—the slave was in the vicinity of the Brazilian minister, when he wrote his foolish, flippant, depraved letter on South America. He did not “feel hurt” at the infernal cruelties practised on the unfortunate *insurgents* of Pernambuco, who were subjected to barbarities more savage than Castlereagh inflicted on the *reformers* of Ireland; or the usurpers of Buenos-Ayres on the *republicans* of Chili; he felt nothing for the miseries of the innocent! His commiseration was for the *exquisite* sensibilities of the king of Brazil, whose oppressions forced his subjects into rebellion.—Observe, sir, that I convey no censure on the minister of that power; it is laudable in him to discharge his ambassadorial duties fairly; but it is baseness in an *American citizen* to volunteer so officiously and obsequiously, in offering his sympathies for royalty; his reproaches against the people of Pernambuco! “It is base to be a bond-man.”

*Yes; the sages of the South have already given lessons, and dealt reproof to our conceited pettifoggers!—*Vast indeed are our interests, moral, political and commercial, in the liberty and felicity of Spanish America.*

This abominable doctrine of our "Secretary," could not stand the ordeal of examination; How could it?—It inculcates *passive obedience* to tyrants, as the duty of men! I extract a few sentences from the excellent reply:—

"So then, because he removed from the Tagus to Rio-Janeiro, are the Brazilians already bound forever to obey the will of this despot, in preference to the will of God?" [He had previously proved from scripture and history, the *right of resistance*.]

"According to this new political maxim, the sanguinary contest of the Americans, in the Spanish colonies, will be at an end, as soon as Ferdinand the Seventh removes thither, with all his train of tyranny, all his pomp of superstition, and his Supreme Council of Inquisitors. "Then the provinces of Spain will have a right to rise, because the focus of despotism has retired from them."

"You cannot be ignorant, that in Brazil, there is no constitution; no representative government, nor law deserving this holy name. All the Brazilians are slaves, because they all depend on the *will of an individual*, which can never have any claim to the respectable character of a law. That which is properly called *law*, is the expression of the general will, &c. The forced duty of blind obedience is the only right which, under this deceitful denomination, is acknowledged in the provinces of Brazil, by their oppressor. And yet, you will have it be a crime to undertake the reformation of this abuse, by means of an insurrection—the only way to obtain it from a tyrant, who considers as high treason, the attempt of setting constitutional impediments to his arbitrary power!"

When his absurdities had drawn forth this masterly refutation, I supposed that the "Secretary to the Mission," would, thenceforward, weigh his paradoxes before publication; or that, if he could not abstain, he would contrive to make his "failings lean to virtue's side." I was mistaken: he flatters your admired friend, the Abbe, very grossly, and censures his supposed opponents as coarsely. You cannot be ignorant of the motive, as adulation has but one purpose.

Our voyager complains very feelingly in the preface, of the impossibility of comprising an account of every thing valuable on the subject of his enquiry in *two small volumes*. 'Tis true; but his work, under a judicious plan, might have comprised an enchanting variety of important matter, as certain fluids, by compression, occupy less space in a mixed, than a separate state.—Yet, he jumbles events, institutions, and geography, from California to Cape Horn, in such an incoherent mass, that, (in his introduction) there is little or no distinctness.

You will probably deny the correctness of his assertion: "what is wanted at present, is not so much a work, embracing the necessary information on South America generally, as one that should *create a desire* to be informed." No; no; it is the "necessary information we want, and nothing else.—A reader will not peruse two volumes to excite curiosity, but to satisfy it. The sound of a ten years' revolution, the incidents of war, the struggles of factions had already inflamed our desire to the highest pitch. What institutions are likely to be reared by our southern neighbors? What is the character of the leaders? Will the delightful region of the Oriental Banda be *conquered* by the king of

Portugal, and his allies in Buenos-Ayres? or can its hardy defenders persevere in an unequal war against Spain, Brazil and La Plata? These are questions which the people ask. BLAND and POINSETT have given them much valuable intelligence, and they are athirst for more. The commerce of South America, and the Pacific, though it may soon be worth 15 or 20 millions of dollars a year to this nation, does not interest us so strongly as the character and issue of the war.

In the preface, page 9, our voyager acquaints us with the proficiency he had made in the Spanish language, literature and law, &c. while he resided in Louisiana, "part of the time as one of the *judges* of the state." It seems, however, that he was a very indifferent judge of the language, for he could not hold a conversation in it at Buenos-Ayres: the commissioners were necessitated to employ a Mr. Riglos, as interpreter, in their interviews with D. Gregorio Tagle, the secretary of director Puerreydon, &c.

What his law knowledge is, we may judge from his asserting, volume 1, page 62, that *Cabildos are popular assemblies*; in page 64, he corrects himself: "the Cabildo, however, is far from being a popular assembly, according to our ideas." He ought to have settled the debate in his own mind, rather than commit contradictory assertions to writing. To fifty passages, I might apply the same remark:

The revolution, he tells us, page 35, vol. I. has been much affected by feuds between great and rival families, &c. That has happened in some of the provinces; but will not afford a palliation for arbitrary measures in Chili or Buenos-Ayres. San Martin and Puerreydon are far from noble; and the republican exiles, though respectable, aspired not after power on family pretensions.—The Carreras were distinguished by talents and qualities that command respect every where; but were not *noble*, in the vulgar acceptance of the term. O'Higgins is not noble, though descended of a president, being of a *nothus filius*, or natural son. The disorders of "feuds" proceed from *parties*, not *families*: Aristocrats and monarchists in one rank; republicans in the other. Do not carry this fallacy too far! Fling down the fardel here, and travel with a lighter load!

In page x. of the preface, he disavows party-spirit, in relation to leaders in South America. He soon forgot himself; since he makes free to censure Paraguay, and of course, her chieftains and people, for a "timid, selfish, and narrow-minded policy, during the present revolution," while "Buenos Ayres (formerly the boast of loyalty) is now the blazing revolutionary comet of the South;" page 81, vol. II; at page 87, *ib.* he abuses the people of Cordova, or its inhabitants, of "desperate fortunes and character," for a friendly predilection towards the people of Santa-Fe; though in page 86, he admits that "the rich productions of Cordova" were perishing for want of a market; and this embarrassment, he knew, was created by the *ambition* of Buenos-Ayres.* How did he learn the character of individuals in Cordova?

* I mean the leaders who command the military force; monopolize the civil power, and direct the treasures of the country. Authority being united in a few hands, the people (as Dr. Horsley said of another country,) have little, or nothing

He is a strange sort of apologist, I think: "In fact, (page 275, vol. I.) it is *chiefly* by the commerce with Paraguay, that the sailors of the river are formed; as it was there also, that the only vessels used in its navigation were constructed." This was at his conversation with the skipper and *cook*, on La Plata, who taught him politics, revealed characters, and unfolded profound policy. He also learned that sloops ascended to Assumption, 11 or 1200 miles up the river, page 276; and in page 69, vol. II. he asserts, that it is navigable for small vessels, from lat. 16, without the slightest interruption. But in page 92, *ib.* he speaks contemptuously of Santa-Fe, 300 miles above Buenos-Ayres, "as too high up the river for sea vessels to ascend with facility,"* to enable it to rival Buenos-Ayres.—"I notice it at present, merely to refute the charge of a monopolizing spirit alledged against Buenos-Ayres," &c. Well! has he refuted it? No; he admits it. "That such a spirit does exist, I have no doubt; but it is the same that prevails in all cities, and in all countries." In like manner, the general turpitude of human nature, though it is rather unfair and untrue to alledge it, may be pleaded in excuse of particular crimes, and the robber may say, "you would all rob if you had the opportunity."—Santa-Fe never sought a monopoly; she desired the right of importing and exporting commodities freely;—Buenos-Ayres forbade it; and the citizens of Santa-Fe rose *in mass* to resist the unjust pretension.

At page 99, he retracts most of his previous assertions;—"The town of Santa-Fe is in many respects *favourably situated for trade*, but it is too high up to be the emporium of the countries situated on the river, and its branches;" &c. This may be disputed, as the navigation is not difficult, and her position gives her an advantage over Buenos-Ayres in the trade of the interior. "The products also of Cordova and some of the interior districts, are brought here, and carried down to Buenos-Ayres to be exported."—

We cannot prevent this man from refuting himself.

"I question much whether any but an *American* or an *Englishman*" has "a clear notion of the distinction between legislative, executive, and judicial functions". vol. I. page 66. Yet the distinction originated with *Montesquieu*, (if he did not copy Aristotle,) and was adopted by Blackstone, though inapplicable in the *British system*. How a man of our voyager's erudition could thus stumble in his own profession, is "passing strange;" especially as he seems to boast in the preface of his acquirements.—We cannot affirm however, that the invention is so important in practice as it might be. In the United States there has been much cavilling about the division of power; but the object was left too much out of sight.—Judicial usurpation has been the consequence—for want of due responsibility.—In truth, every branch of government is an *agency* for special purposes; and, the accountability of the trustee to the people is the only pledge of freedom.—If a man make a partition of his estate into ten or a dozen portions, and *alien-*

to do with the laws, but obey them. Mr. Adams had truly said, that many people had no more voice in forming the constitution, than in the climate of their country.—A case in point.

* *Sebastian Cabot* sailed 200 leagues up the same river.

ate it without bond or condition, he is a pauper.---So, if the people were stupid enough to rest tranquil under assumptions that filch away their dearest inheritance, they are enslaved.---Whether the robbery is perpetrated by representatives, or judges, it is all one---their power is, (as Taylor says) like Lear's after he divided his kingdom among his three daughters.---

Page 213, volume II. "I saw a translation of 'BISSETT'S SKETCH OF DEMOCRACY', which I was informed by the booksellers, had *met with a rapid sale*.* This work might possibly have a salutary effect on a people who are in danger of running wild in their notions of liberty; and who, like the *French*, would be desirous of taking Greece or Rome as their model.---It selects all that is bad in the ancient or modern republics".---

Unless an impure fountain can send forth limpid waters, I cannot readily conclude how a set argument against republicanism, can operate in its *favour*.---It met with "a rapid sale," and was extolled by the members of government, while republican sentiments were frowned out of countenance, some of their promulgators shot, and others arbitrarily banished after a jury had acquitted them. Witness the fate of Pazos, and the more unfortunate editor of the Independent!

Again,---page 214, *ib*. "The French is much more familiar to them than the English, which is perhaps to be regretted, as the French revolutionary politics have been proved by experience to be unsafe."

This may be controverted; as France pressed on all sides by the troops of the coalition, was obliged to divert her proper cares from political research, and rush almost in mass to the field of battle. Her principles therefore had not and could not have a fair trial, while she was contending for existence. This *mania* against *French principles* misbecomes an American. It reminds us of the anti-republican frenzy of 1798, when so many of our fellow-citizens were stung by a British tarantula. Let us not complain of our voyager's ambiguity; for he is very candid elsewhere. But we must deny his position for another reason. France is reviving in proportion as she looks towards the principles, the decried principles of the revolution, as those who were bitten in the wilderness were healed by looking on an image of the serpent.---Is it not still true, that "the history of kings is the martyrology of nations?" So much conviction was there in the eloquent discourses of that epoch that coalesced Europe, subsidized by England, took the alarm, and crushed the revolution by force.---It is unkind to wound French feelings as our author does--by illiberal taunts: I must exclaim with *Lafau* in the play, of all such *Voyagers*:---"They are bastards to the English; the French ne'er got them!"---

These notions account in part for the acerbity of the Secretary towards general *Artigas*: "He is under the guidance of an apostate priest, of the name of Monterosa, who acts as his secretary; and writes

*Of this abusive monarchical work, more hereafter. It was translated by *C. Henriquez*, the government printer, with studied panegyrics by way of preface and dedication, to the *congress*: I shall give them, or the substance of them in the sequel.

his proclamations and letters; for although Artigas has not a bad head, he is by no means good at inditing.---*Monterosa professes to be in the literal sense, a follower of the political doctrines of Paine; and prefers the constitution of Massachusetts as the most democratic, without seeming to know that the manners and habits of a people are very important considerations.*" page 241, vol. 1.

Would to God! that his *political doctrines* were *every where* followed in the literal sense!--The coarsest, most rancorous aspersions in the Buenos-Ayrean pamphlet against Artigas are levelled at his *doctrines*, his *exalted* ideâs, his disorganizing *precepts*. We now understand the motives of *loyal* gentlemen perfectly!--To be more explicit, if possible, our Secretary censures the circulation of another republican work:

"Among the productions issued from the press during the *first year* of the revolution, I observed a translation of Rousseau's Social Compact, by Dr. MORENO.† The translation is well executed, and seems to have been much relished by the middle class of people. *But it is difficult to say, whether it was not more injurious than beneficial,*" &c. page 205, vol. II.

Bissett's Caricature of Democracy, as he thought "might possibly have a good effect;" Rousseau's masterly reasoning in vindication of civil liberty might only produce disprofit, or "be more injurious than beneficial!" Nothing can please him but paradox, or high seasoned abuse.

To banish republican sympathies, our voyager warns us of the fatal consequences of indulging them to excess! The following is matchless:—

"There is no danger for the present at least, that the great body of the American people will look upon monarchy with a dangerous complacency: (if they imitate his example there would be some hazard,) --but there is danger of their declining, on account of their antipathy to certain forms of government, friendly and profitable relations with foreign states."

Sacrifice our foreign trade for the sake of republican principle! Such a *disparate* is worthy of a Shawanese, or a lunatic;

It is the very error of the moon—
She comes more near the earth than she was wont,
And makes men mad."

Look on the contrary at our sacrifices for commerce and foreign intercourse. With what nation, tribe, or people, black, white, red, tawny, coppery, mestizo, or quadroon, of locks straight or curled,—Hot-tentots, Malays, Mamelukes, Manilla-men, Chinese, Turks, Jews, Brahmins, children of the sun, or under the sun, have we not trafficked? Commerce has been generally free as the winds.—From the 4th of March 1789, till the 31st of December 1815, the expense of foreign

†The most enlightened and distinguished citizen of whom Buenos-Ayres could boast,—the mainspring of the revolution, and author of the best institutions of the country.—It may be said that he formed his mind by French literature.

intercourse, including that with the Barbary powers amounted to \$14,325,333:40. (See *Seybert's Statistical Annals*, page 713.) Add to this the appropriations for naval defence, chiefly incurred on account of commerce, and you will have a swinging item.—Much greater is the danger that we may degenerately immolate principles on the commercial altar.—Were it not indeed a question of too much magnitude for a cursory digression, I would enquire in this place, whether we ought not to discontinue two-thirds of the diplomatic expenditure forthwith? whether we ought not to recall ministers resident from all foreign courts, leaving consuls only in their ports, to attend to the interests of trade? On occasions of moment we could more eligibly dispatch special ambassadors. Intrigue, (in which we are no novices *at home*,) is increased by a residence in the purlieus of monarchies, where it is more studied than the law of nations. Our statesmen are vitiated: they return adepts; and naturally practise the arts in which they excel: the citizens are debauched by force of example. Republican simplicity is sent into exile.—Many do not hesitate to declare that they discern in this diplomatic extravagance, and the infectious mimicry which follows,—the minnings of the disease, that threatens our republic with a premature grave.—Our dignity would perhaps be best consulted by withdrawing from superfluous connexions in Europe. We have no influence in *her* congresses,—no direct interest in *her* quarrels. *Her* principles and ours are immiscible. Let us pay less court to Europe, and more attention to South America. Let us never appear in the incongruous character of a friend to our foes, and a foe to our friends.—I trust we never shall!—"There" said De Pradt, speaking of the United States, "there exists the furnace which continually heats the flame of independence."† We give the patriots the benefits of our example,—if no more.—Many of them complain of our *coldness*.—But to return: Did our "Secretary" intend by the finesse to extend our relations to New Holland,—that "magnificent field for the enlightened scientific traveller?" page 154, vol. 1. Since he speaks the Shawanese language quite as fluently as he does Spanish, did he mean to recommend himself for minister plenipotentiary to that terrestrial paradise?

"No proposition can be more clearly proved than that the prosperity of one nation is a general benefit to all. To illustrate the subject by a familiar comparison, what man in any kind of business would not rather place himself in the midst of a hundred *free* and *industrious* families than in the neighbourhood of a planter, the master of as many slaves?" p. 86, vol. 1.

This is correct doctrine: but, by the time the consistent Secretary has travelled to the 156th page, he forgets his own principle as just laid down. On surveying the "vast capacities and resources of Brazil," he recoils at the idea of a destined rival. Hear himself:—

"Looking at the Brazils therefore, as a rival, and in the nature of things she must be such, *it may be well that she is placed under a race of kings*, not likely to inspire the nation with the formidable energy

†On the Colonies, page 332.

of our republic, but rather to dissipate the force of the body politic in childish projects and royal extravagance."

Which of these propositions is right? One of them must be wrong,—unless it be possible to extract equal good from *prosperity* and from *ruin*. Whatever be the resources of the Brazilian empire, it is illiberal and irrational to maintain that they are disadvantageous to us. Emulation is a saving principle; an honest rival is a friend in disguise. *Ambition* or *avarice* alone can dread rivalry: the one wishes domination, the other sighs for monopoly. What gained ancient Rome by her perfidious and barbarous destruction of Carthage?—License to ruin herself. What *has* England acquired by her *malignant* crusade against France?—Distress and slavery. What does a dominant party acquire in a state by stifling opinion and controuling suffrage?—Superiority and loneliness,—apathy and servitude!—*If* we can profit by the wretchedness of Brazil, then it would be "well" that all Spanish-America were "placed under a race of kings" to render it powerless. There is among nations as among individuals, a cheering incentive of fellowship, which cannot be removed with safety. The arts would retrograde,—morals decline, and genius languish without the spur of partnership—or associate exertion.—I might assert, that it were better to have *hostile* collision itself than be without a rival.—I cannot conclude therefore from the whole current of history, or my slight acquaintance with human nature, that in this instance the "Secretary" has spoken like a statesman, philosopher or Christian.—Conquering nations *may* dread competition; all others have need of it.

"Man is every where a noble and lofty being; and if the burthen which bows him to the earth be removed; if the slavish bands in which he is fastened are burst, he will suddenly rise with ease to the natural standard of his character." (*Letter* in appendix 326.)

Through his whole work, he ridicules this worthy sentiment, and inveighs against its supporters as visionary theorists. (See page 67, vol. I.) "To *visionary theorists* it may appear an easy matter for a people to shake off their old habits, and to unlearn at once; but experience and good sense forbid us to form any such expectation. I have heard it expressed by persons of some pretensions, that nothing is necessary but the introduction into any country, of the forms of free government, and that the people will at once be free as a matter of course. This is a great mistake. A people must be educated and prepared for freedom."—This stands in array against his former opinion: granting that it be practically and partially true, it is but an awkward apology for the military despotism which *defers* preparation, and delays *education*. To defend the military chiefs, he argues that they have to govern "a slavish and ignorant people," incapable of being emancipated "suddenly."

Like the clergy whom he describes, vol. I. page 70, he seems "sufficiently compliant to the party which happens to be uppermost."—"With respect to men *at present in power*, Puerreydon and others, he [Mr. Sumpter] said they were the rational and moderate men of the country, who were aiming at something like a settled order of things;

but that the *people* were of a restless and inconstant character, and fit subjects to be acted upon by turbulent demagogues." Page 125-6.

But in an humble letter of apology, which our voyager wrote to a distinguished exile, relative to some passages in his letter on South America, the voyager says that his impressions are very unfavorable to Puerreydon: yet he could not distinguish between the people and government: if the latter were bad, *it was the fault of the people*: that it was in vain to tell us of hopes of better times, for of this we have no security. (*Letter of November 1, 1817, to Dr. M. M.*)

It is untenable doctrine, that we cannot discriminate between the oppressor and his victims, but wrap the cause of a country and its betrayers in general confusion. There is as much difference between people and government, as between principals and agents, constituents and trustees. If the *learned* Secretary had studied the excellent political treatise of Mr. TAYLOR,* rather than retail the stale dogmas of British lawyers and their admirers, he would avoid many blunders.

With the subsequent sentences, I cordially agree.—“They (the South Americans) are capable of defending themselves, governing themselves, AND OF BEING FREE, in spite of all that may be said by narrow-minded, self-sufficient men. They expect friendship and good will from us, and have a right to expect it. *If we cannot speak favourably of them, at least, we ought not studiously to display what we conceive to be their foibles and faults.*”—Excellent; not less excellent that the author disregards it all in the sequel, notwithstanding the pains he took (see preface 11 and 12,) to acquire correct information.

After this profession, we were surprised to discover so great a portion of his book appropriated to invectives against the most gallant republican chieftains and champions of the revolution.—The heroic Artigas, he portrays as a monster, on the authority of an anonymous pamphlet published by his enemies, and afterwards suppressed through shame.—Did our author learn this *law of evidence* whilst a judge in Louisiana? or did he acquire it from his intimate acquaintance, Toledo the traitor?—The Llaneros or gauchos of the plains, the best horsemen in the world, and the terror of the Spaniards, he describes as disgusting savages, page 225, vol. I. &c. &c.; having previously espied one asleep in a hovel, with myriads of flies around him, and no goddess to drive them away; had *lank black hair, almost as coarse as the mane of a horse*; no bad index of a robust frame. Had father Gumilla, and

* “An Inquiry into the Principles and Policy of the Government of the United States:” by JOHN TAYLOR, of Caroline County, Virginia.—It is one of the profoundest works written in modern times, and inculcates the soundest principles in civil polity. I could not refrain from rendering to the author this undissembled homage of applause; respectfully suggesting to him the propriety of correcting some obscurities of style which it was difficult to avoid in disquisitions of an abstruse nature.—In return for the instruction imbibed from that book, and in furtherance of useful information, I make free to offer this advice. The subject exacts perspicuity, and a removal of little deformities or involutions:

“Since the more fair and crystal is the sky,
The uglier seem the clouds that in it fly.”

other divines have seen this hairy man, they would have been confirmed in their theory that the Indians were the progeny of the Jews, and this gaucho had appeared a lineal descendant of the *unshorn Sampson* himself, of whose hair we have heard thingsequally miraculous, though no commentator has written a word on his *whiskers*, about which Mr. Secretary is also silent.—Of the serious part of this subject, more anon.

We had already known that a revolution was in progress, and it was desirable to ascertain its *political character*, the motives of its leaders, and probable issue.—But, says our voyager, page 236, “We neither know nor care who is the best patriot; all we look to is the great contest between South America and Spain.”—On the contrary, it is its *nature* solely we are interested in knowing; for we were aware of the fact already—and, a mere exchange of tyrannies would not deserve the name of *revolution*.

Our voyager held an instructive dialogue (embodied in his book) with a skipper, *cook* and clerk, during his passage from Montevideo to Buenos-Ayres, on the sublime topics of politics, generals and politicians: page 270, vol. I. “When I informed them that *I had heard* that some among them were for having a *king*, they seemed to express some surprize, and said that they had got rid of one king, and it would be singular if they should already think of another.”—They were honest, it appears, and therefore most unlikely to be in the plot: and the Secretary gravely and *disinterestedly* receives their negative testimony in preference to his own;—“against his better knowledge—not deceived, but fondly overcome” by some *latent* cause or causes!

Yes; our voyager had warmly reprobated the machinations of the Buenos-Ayrean faction in favor of monarchy, *before* his departure from the United States. Writing on this subject from New-York, some time previously to a gentleman in Baltimore, he subjoins a familiar post-script, very like the following:—

I have seen the dunce of a *Buenos-Ayrean minister* in this city:—I have tried to draw all the information I could—but the fool knows nothing. He *repeated* to me the same sentiment as to the government of Buenos-Ayres, that a *king* would suit them best!

He had an official voucher then for the intention of the anti-republican faction; and he would disvouch it on a pretended conversation with a skipper. He had likewise been apprized that San Martin acquiesced in the sentiment, though he was piqued at Don M. A — for divulging it so roundly.* This exhibits another view of the Secretary’s idea of the comparative force of testimony, and of the best method of sifting out truth from *impartial* and *competent* witnesses.

From the opening of the 2d vol. to the 20th page, he relates the important affairs of lodgings, and visits, &c. The most welcome visitors appear to be members of the government, or the dependants of men in place. When persons of a different cast, sought a conversation, and seemed to offer any thing unfavorable to his idols, the cidevant “judge”

* This subject caused some noise in the United States at that time. United to the uproar made by deporting certain conspicuous republicans, it drew from ge-

appears either to have dismissed the witnesses, or spurned their relations.—“*I found with some regret, that the most unfavourable representations as to the state of things in this country, were made by some of our own countrymen.*”—These persons surrounded us, and were extremely anxious to be closeted in order to disclose *damning secrets against the men in power*; as if it were the business of the mission to sit in judgment on the political conduct and motives of those who had the management of the government, like the *visitadores* under the Spanish system.”

neral San Martin a zealous apology of summary proceedings in a letter from Santiago in Chili, February 12, 1818, addressed to a gentleman in Baltimore: He cites *precedent*, you see for tyranny:—

“England, justly regarded as the centre of liberty, suspended, last year, the *Habeas Corpus*, at a time when national danger would not admit of judicial proceedings. The opposition was strong and obstinate; but at last the weight of reason and *conveniency* preponderated in favor of the counsel of the ministry.—Who doubts that deportation and death were sanctioned? and who would have preferred the conflagration of the city of London to the temporary suspension of judicial forms?”

We confess, without admitting either premises or conclusion, that exile is humanity compared with the *usurpation* and *assassination*, since become the order of the day!—

“I cannot conceive (says he) *how* Don Manuel Aguirre could penetrate into the proposals which, he says, were made by my government to the king of Spain for placing his brother in the United Provinces, when he has not held any immediate station in the ministry; nor is it to be supposed that the hazardous steps of the cabinet would have been made public,—as it is to be remarked that since the 25th of May, 1810, public opinions has received several lessons in public administration, and that such measures have been disavowed by the general sentiments of the multitude.”

We consider this subterfuge as an admission of the fact:—If a public agent could not understand his government, who should?—Why were editors and citizens banished for animadverting on Belgrano’s proposals, and why were others shot for publishing independent sentiments?—For, such was their offence!—Wherefore murder the republican chiefs of *Chili*?

Yes—you, San Martin, had the illustrious RODRIGUEZ assassinated because he was a popular soldier and a republican.—Of this, more again.—You and your creatures seized and imprisoned Mr. VERA, a man of fine genius, and a poet, (a native of Santa-Fe,) and banished him to Mendoza—for what? declaring in favor of a Congress. Mr. VELA, a Chilian of respected character, suffered the same punishment for the same *exalted ideas*. CHAYERIA, another citizen of reputation and integrity, was served in the same way.—Vast numbers were exiled for uttering their sentiments; but the most distinguished were put to death.—Most victims were made amongst the heroes of Coquimbo, who chiefly gained the battle of Maypu.

You, San Martin! have exterminated the CARRERAS, (root and branch, it is believed.) For what transgression did you, a stranger, imbrue your hands in the blood of popular worth like theirs?—A gentleman, intimately acquainted with

No, truly, the judge had no jurisdiction of that kind; but as Secretary to a Mission it was his duty to extract facts from any quarter, to ascertain the motives and principles of men in power—and, as an American citizen it was his “business” to hear his *countrymen*, and keep their secret too.—Their information was levelled against the men in power! “*There’s the rub:*” had it been against “men out of power,” he would have opened both his ears: it would have been welcome though tendered by persons “connected with or friendly to the privateering interest:” page 20---21. How did he, who was there only a few weeks, presume to understand men or measures better than those who had resided there for years?—He then accepts the testimony of the men in power! and he was “a judge in Louisiana.”

As a *voyager* delineating natural curiosities, describing men or painting manners, we have not sufficiently attended to our author. In this department he is very amusing if not always original.—He saw flying fish on the passage to Rio-Janeiro, without mistaking them for birds, and beheld *sable countenances* ashore, which he regarded with no degree of pleasure. It is true, he would not condemn people by wholesale merely for their looks—or “very dark complexions.” See page 119---122, vol. I.

In places where negroes are to whites as 15 to 1 the compound must be dark; It will require ages of bleaching.—But, I ask pardon,—it were mocking misery to be mirthful where the *thought* of the *slave trade* intrudes—it withers fancy in the bud as the sirocco of the desert blasts vegetation wherever it sweeps.

events, says of this republican family:—“The aged father and his three sons are admitted by their worst enemies, to have been polished gentlemen of good education, talent, fortune, and general deportment. Considering the state of society in that country, they were all as remarkable for their capacity and literary attainments. Their popularity was extensive, but their enemies (like a certain class in England and the United States) sneered;—it lay among the *lower orders!* and I am inclined to believe it is true—because they were the advocates of the abolition of slavery; of considering the civilized and mixed Indians in the Pueblos as a portion of the people entitled to all the rights of citizenship. *They were in favour of elections*, and sustained and encouraged cabildos popularly chosen, [which you, Sir, have abolished.] The Carreras curtailed the power of the clergy, and meant by degrees to reduce them to an equality with other citizens. They had begun improvements about Santiago—they adhered to a Congress, however imperfectly chosen. *From these reasons*, and from the circumstances of their having been *abandoned to the mercy of the royalists* by the British in their mediation, as well as their being generally disliked by the advocates of aristocracy in Chili, I can entertain no doubt of the great republican principles which the Carreras had in view, and from their being proscribed and hunted down by a faction who argue that *independence without liberty* ought to content the people, you may judge of the political principles of this hostile party.”—And you, San Martin! who exercise Spanish despotism and cruelty, in the name of *independence*,—impartial history will decide whether you are a republican soldier, or an assassin.—Your original letter is before me.—He was not a “*Washington*” who dictated it.

"Certain individuals (says De Pradt) form a horrible institution for their own profit: they place their fellow creatures in the most revolting situation: a combat immediately commences between nature and that state: it cannot be maintained but in iron and with iron."---

"You are cultivating your fields with tygers, and will you not one day or other be devoured? *You transport GUINEA to the colonies:* will it not one day or other endeavor to become mistress in turn?"

Alas! that exhortation and example are useless. *Custom* has blunted southern feeling, and reconciled too many of our fellow citizens to the infernal *crime* of manstealing. How lamentable that so base a blot should be coeval with our Declaration of Independence! What a record of inconsistency! We united for liberty, and combined against humanity on the same day. From the moment that the congress expunged the paragraph on the slave trade from our catalogue of complaints against Great Britain, (inserted by Mr. JEFFERSON in the first draft of that immortal production,)—from that moment the guilt was transferred to ourselves—it became all our own.—That fatal compromise with southern states subsequently renewed, prolonged the evil till 1808, and threatens to perpetuate slavery forever.---If it must last, let it not spread!---In the picture of remorse drawn by a dramatic bard, a distracted accomplice in murder, delirious with anguish of conscience, imagines her hands are stained with the blood of innocence. All her efforts to wash it away are fruitless---'tis indelible. *Out damned spot!* is her agonized exclamation!---Many of our slave holders on the contrary are proof against compunction.---The foul "spot" is likely to remain for ages. 'Tis too horrible.---

The old congress and the convention, it must be observed, contemplated a time for terminating the importation of Africans, and preventing, if necessary, the *migration* of negroes already located.---All their acts declare this intention.---How did I glow with shame, when a majority of our House of Delegates lately passed a resolution for transporting negro-slaves from their old nurseries over all the new states!

January 7th, 1820.

"HOUSE OF DELEGATES, ANNAPOLIS;

"The Missouri question was settled in the House of Delegates this day. Mr. LECOMPTE's resolution requesting our senators and representatives in Congress, to oppose any restrictions on new states, was adopted by a vote of *sixty to nine*:

"*Resolved by the General Assembly of Maryland.* That our senators and representatives in Congress, be requested to use their utmost endeavors in the admission of new states into the union, to grant to such states all the rights and privileges of the states heretofore admitted, without requiring as a condition of their admission, the inhibition of involuntary servitude, or any other condition, limiting their sovereign powers in a greater degree than the sovereign powers of the original states forming the union, are limited and restrained."

Resolved, That the governor be requested to transmit copies of the foregoing resolutions to each of our senators and representatives in congress. Per order.

JOHN BREWER, clerk."

You will duly admire the genius of legislation which guides the glory of Maryland! With guardians so liberal, independent, and pious withal, what can harm us?---Some nevertheless censure them for want of knowledge and compassion: if they disliked emancipation, they were not bound to solicit an extension of negro-slavery.

I regard the extension of negro slavery over two-thirds of our *enlarging* union, as a death-blow to the *representative system*.---The northern, middle and some western states will comparatively *decline into the condition of Colonies* ---The less will revolve round the greater body of black representation.---The fatal compromise of 1776, and the indulgence of 1787, will end in ruin.---At least, if slavery be allowed to spread, it ought not to be suffered to vitiate representation a moment longer.

This, I know, is a tender subject: I know too, it is a vital one. I will admit, that some of our purest republicans shone in the south, when monarchy and schism rose inauspiciously in the east. But, if funds and banks and all their viperous brood were hatched in *this* quarter, acquiescence came from *that*,---and the cancer is permitted to shoot forth fresh roots.---I cannot readily assent to the belief, that the perpetual example of slavery is *necessary* to foment republican sentiment. Must I be a tyrant to be a freeman? Is there no alternative, (as it has been written) between being hammer and anvil? *Must we*, like monarchical Spartans, keep the drunken slave before our eyes, to make *us* avoid inebriety?---But *you* will judge of this momentous subject more sedately. I do not believe that the best feelings can mislead us. May our *liberty* and *union* be perpetual!

Thanks to the revolution of *Spanish America*! it has terminated the trade in Africans as to every independent state; while *Cuba* and *Peru*, ripe for independence, dare not *declare* it---lest they should on that signal be overpowered and desolated by hordes of negro slaves. These provinces must await external aid. It is supposed that about 60,000 negroes are annually imported into Cuba, and a far greater proportion into Brazils.---It is not strange our voyager saw "very dark complexions" at Rio. *Can the Ethiopian change his skin?*

England would have had some merit, (though *the greatest slave-trader among nations*,) if she had discontinued the accursed traffic *before* her colonies were surcharged with negroes: but she has forfeited all pretensions to applause by deferring the prohibition until it was extorted from her fears. The measure is due to the independence of St. Domingo, not to ministerial conscience. She trembled for her own empire, when a black one was reared *alongside*.

In the following table from De Pradt, the number is probably underrated, we have altered that of the United States according to the evident *ratio* of increase.

TABLE OF NEGRO SLAVES.	NUMBERS.
West India Islands.	1,600,000
Brazils, [underrated]	1,500,000
Spanish America, do.	600,000
United States,	*1,800,000
Total.	5,500,000

The slave population of Brazil, augmented by constant and enormous imports of Africans, and by natural multiplication, must now exceed 2,000,000 of souls. Another point in which we rival the subjects of "his most Faithful Majesty!" To the slave it matters little, whether he is crushed in a republic, or under a despotism.—They are rivals and equals to him.—Nature to be sure, is kinder to him in the genial *climate* of Brazil, than in the United States, where he shivers half a year under a northern sky.—There is most probably a total exceeding *six millions and a half of slaves, (if not seven millions)* thrown into the American islands or continent.—Remaining in servitude, they corrupt our habits, and debauch our sensibility to justice.—*If we possess a right to enslave Africans, we have a right to enslave one another.*—I hope however, there is enough of principle yet left in the United States, to prevent the *slave dealers* from *diffusing* the nursery throughout our South Western and North Western territories. Are we ambitious to spread *Guinea* through the finest portions of the republic? But, let us dismiss the dreary subject, and resume the peerless Voyage. Our author brings fairer objects in view.

Much as the Secretary had read of kings, queens and princesses, (see page 130, vol. I.) he observed some of the breed for the first time without quaking. "The *princess Leopoldina* was distinguished from the rest by the fairness of her complexion; I saw nothing remarkable in her appearance, and there are thousands of my countrywomen [whom] I would choose in preference for a wife."

If such *rejection* is not unprecedented, it was ungenerous to publish it to the world, and perhaps drive the princess to despair. The Secretary, like other *small lawyers* seems wholly governed by *precedent* in disregard of *propriety*. The grave author of the "History and Adventures of the renowned Don Quixote" informs us of the sensibility of that hero to historic fame, "wishing for nothing more than a true representation of his fidelity, and the decorum he always preserved, in *refusing queens, empresses, and damsels of all ranks,*" in attachment to his famed mistress Dulcinea del Toboso.

You perceive, my friend, there is luckily some *relief* in this book. If we were never to laugh at its preposterousness, its malice would be insupportable. Though the mere effect of chance, its tragi-comic diversification answers all the purposes of art.

*In 1810, our *black population* was 1,377,310; in 1816, about 1,650,000. Clandestine importations and natural increase probably combine to raise it to the amount of 1,800,000; The slaves cannot be less than the number set down.

We find him next in Montevideo, returning the kind urbanity of general *Carrera* with unprovoked calumny. See page 217 &c. vol. 1. He quotes the "Outline" of the revolution, dictated by one of his enemies and written by another, as impartial history! Of this hereafter. Our voyager insinuates, that the general's narrative of the news of the day &c. was unfounded. "According to him, every thing had gone to ruin, the *Spaniards* had got possession of *Conception* in *Chili*, and were joined by the inhabitants; the people of *Buenos-Ayres* were distracted by factions, and on the eve of another revolution; while the *greatest cruelty* had been manifested by the present leader, to his family, in consequence of the attachment of the people, and their wish to have them as their chiefs."

Is it not notorious that the *Spaniards* did capture *Conception*, and that they hold that *Gibraltar* of *Chili* to this hour? *O'Higgins's* army was defeated in an attempt against it? Why do not *San Martin* and my lord *Cochrane* reduce it, or take it by storm as *Carrera* once did? How the Secretary *could* so placidly write slander against the illustrious republicans assassinated by order of *San Martin*—while they were rotting in their graves, and their country subjugated by a foreign force in alliance with a domestic faction, is surprising—but not unaccountable.

It is not possible, surely, that he could have received a fee for a production of this kind.—His propensity to *adulation* on one side, and to *ingratitude* on the other, unriddles the motive.

Another volley against *Artigas* is accompanied or preceded by some explications of names, p. 241. "*His followers are greatly attached to him.* They address him by the familiar name of *Pepe*, which may be translated *daddy*." There never was such a translation as this, since folks of olden time used to be translated alive in fiery chariots to "kingdom come." If the learned secretary had turned to his dictionary, he would have found, "*Pepe, Pepa*, proper names—*Joseph, Josephine*." *Artigas* may be the "father of his country" and of his troops, yet he is not *daddy-fied* by them.

So, p. 302, vol. 1. "About forty miles north of this is a large village called *Luxan*, at which the road branches off for *Cordova* and *Mendoza*" &c.—By referring to the map and to an excellent itinerary, this appears to be a small mistake in geography of only *three hundred miles*,* a trifle for an author who labors to be *exact* and *impartial*! Philologist, etymologist, geographer, or jurist, he shines alike. "None but himself can be his parallel." In viatic exercises this difference would have been more considerable than on paper; and the painted directions in *Lantern-land* would have been *literally* very advantageous here.

"You who presume to move this way,
Get a good *Lantern*, lest you stray,

As if to compensate the reader for his constant depredations on matter of fact, our author introduces the recreation of a bull-fight in the 1st chapter of his 2d volume:

* It is 99 Spanish leagues precisely from *Luxan* to *Esquina de Medrano*, where the road turns off for *Cordova*.

"At one side of the *toro* [bull] there was a seat appropriated to the city authorities." p. 60.

That seats should be assigned to the city authorities in contact with a furious beast is remarkable, because the Spaniards are strict in ceremonies of respect, and proverbially tenacious of etiquette. But, our Secretary was present, and saw for himself!

"Their irons [viz. the criminals,] were not taken off until immediately before *entering* the *toro*." p. 61. How? did the combatants go down his throat? He must then have resembled Phalaris's brazen bull, to punish convicts. What a monster! when such was the capacity of his paunch, there is nothing extravagant in his exterior dimensions: "A town major,—a band of music,—and a guard of soldiers about thirty in number, were distributed through different parts of the *toro*." What a tremendous bull indeed!—Jupiter, though his tauriform godship swam the seas with miss *Europa* on his back, was a calf to him. Was ever organized being comparable to him? Yes; I recollect one instance as authentic as this, of gigantic growths (but may have read many) that need not decline competition:—"Then did they [Pantagruel's army] put themselves in close order, and stood as near to each other as they could; and Pantagruel drew out his tongue only *halfway*, and covered them all, as a hen doth her chickens."—So that if the army had displayed column, and he had displayed his entire tongue, he could still overshadow them; for it is indubitable, that a cobbler who claps on a pair of half soles, could stitch and peg a pair of whole ones; or the Secretary who writes two such volumes, may as conveniently write four or fourteen.

If there were 45 persons *on* this terrific bull, and the combatants within him, how much did he weigh? To our deep regret the Secretary is silent as the grave about it. The bullocks exhibited in Baltimore last year weighed about 1500lbs.—How is this? how could a Spanish scholar so accomplished as Mr. Secretary, happen to confound *La Plaza de Toros* with *toro*, the *building* with the *beast*? He who began his accident in Louisiana, and finished the philosophy of language in La Plata! An ordinary school boy could not have made and repeated the mistake; but, great minds, intent on great speculations will forget words, though they are perfectly master of their elements—the alphabet. Yet, I confess.

"It rais'd the whites of both my wond'ring eyes."

At p. 243, vol. I. He gravely informs us that the corps of *Blendingues*, was raised in order to extirpate the *Montoneros* or bands of marauders who infested the country—that these are so called from *Montons*, or "bands," &c. Neither of these phrases exists in the Castilian language. *Monton-es*, we find indeed, as well as *Montanero-s*, ranger; rangers, forester, woodsman. What a linguist!—Common sense would have told him that *rangers* cannot march in *heaps* or *bands* through a dense forest: but, neither our Secretary's experience among the Shawanese nor his copious readings in Spanish (though he cannot decline a common noun substantive,) are very visible in his book.

Solecism in language becomes in its consequence tantamount to paralogism in logic. Our Secretary confounds an edifice or an arena

with a quadruped, as friar *Gerund* in the sermon, misreasons the chief personage of a convent into the head of the trinity.—Speaking of one class of combatants, viz. *banderilleros*, persons armed with darts and bannerols attached, he calls them *bandaleros*, which bating a for o signifies *highwaymen* or *banditti*. For *matador* he writes *mattadore*! This is the man, who presumes to criticise brief, pithy and faithful translations!

Another proof of his attainments in Spanish, he furnishes in his description of the festivity of *Corpus Christi*,—during which *he says*, the people shut up their shops, and abstained from labor for a whole week; the ladies muttered *ave marias* through the streets, and (their) servants went before them to church.

Spanish custom forbids the latter as an unpardonable misdemeanor; the female attendants always follow those on whom they wait to church. *Corpus Christi* is a public procession, which continues about two hours, and religious exercises do not exceed the day. Our *Voyager* confounds the devotions of *Holy Thursday* in *Passion Week*, with *Corpus Christi*, equivalent to putting *Christmas* for *Easter*. He must have often heard the phrases, as the Spanish Americans are polite and communicative; but he did not stoop from ethereal contemplations perhaps to pay attention to words.—This makes a fearful deduction from the credit of his work; for, with what accuracy can he paint the *moral part* of customs, &c. when he cannot sketch material things subjected to ocular inspection? His evil genius drove this man to write—For the future he will be less presumptuous, and listen to admonition.

Nec tibi scribendi veniat tam dira cupido.

Page 220, vol. I. Our *voyager* acquaints us with the “incombustible *humboo*,” a shady tree which graced the plains near Montevideo, and whose trunk is so sappy as to be useless for fuel. To what language the word *humboo* belongs, I cannot divine, and suspect it is an estray, that has lost its cast.—There is a tree quaintly named *embudo*, which answers to the properties of this,—lacks fissility and combustibility; the term denoting literally a *funnel*, and figuratively *deceit*, *fraud*,—q. d. *cheat-tree*, because its internal and real qualities do not correspond with its appearances. The animal world has some parallels!—Heywood in his “Instructions” for steering up to Buenos-Ayres, page 14, mentions *Embudo*; and the *embudo* trees, as landmarks,—the latter giving their name to the former. See also the maps and charts of that country and the river.

Of *mayorazgos* or entailed estates, the learned “Secretary” has twice spoken, doubtless to give his doctrine double force with the unlearned. Hear himself.

Page 46—47, vol. II. “*Nobility* has been entirely abolished since O’Higgins (or if you will, since San Martin, for I have heard him censured for it by a British officer at Buenos-Ayres,) became director. Mr. *Bland* states in his Report, that the *mayorazgos*, or feudal privileges, have been in like manner abolished. What more important steps to elevate a people? A constitution! a constitution! some cry out.”—Again, page 155. “The creoles constitute the third class in point of number. These again are divided into the nobles, such as counts,

marquisses, *mayorazgos* (or *owners of fiefs!*) and knights of different military orders."

Here are *two* palpable blunders made on a single word, a *law-term*, universally known.--He is continually aping the precedents of romance or of the remotest history. He had possibly read how "Pantagruel of one angel made two, which was a contingency opposite to the council of *Charlemagne*, who made two devils of one, when he transplanted the Saxons into Flanders, and the Flemings into Saxony."

Judge BLAND sifts every subject of history and law *too closely* to be *capable* of the misconception implied in the "Secretary's misstatement.

In page 104 of his Report on Chili, he says: "The lands thus granted to the religious institutions being held in mortmain, were unalienable; and those large tracts granted to individuals were commonly entailed, and transmitted entire, as fettered inalienable inheritances, according to the principles of the Spanish *law of primogeniture* called *mayorazgo*." He describes the pernicious effects "on husbandry, commerce, and the state of society generally,"--and tells us that the director by his edict of the 5th of June 1818, had abolished *mayorazgos* forever.--In the *Argos de Chili* of the 11th, I have read a pertinent commentary upon the abolition. For one person that is dissatisfied, says the writer, ten are delighted. How inhuman! he argues, is the law which condemns the major part of a family to indigence in favor of a brother by casualty born first? The institution of *mayorazgos*, or feuds, originates in the paradox of preserving fortunes by maintaining them entire in an individual, and rendering real estates inalienable.

The highly intelligent commissioner, who has gleaned up the most important documents in every place he visited, was in no need of any of them to inform *him* of the *law of entails*: but, the "Secretary" *would* make him *as learned* as his Secretaryship! A *mayorazgo* is not the *owner of a fief*, any more than the cane or *the crutch* which a person carries, or the right of carrying it, is the person himself.--He confounds it with the feudal system, which he might have learned from Sullivan or Robertson, or a hundred historians and lawyers.

MOLINA had already explained the subject of primogeniture, when Don Juan De Castillo wrote of usufruct.--See, on this point Solorzano's *Politica Indiana*, vol. I. page 241--2, in lib. iii. in chapters 5, 6, 16 and 20, for an exact explanation of it in Peru.--The possessor of a *mayorazgo* could cede the usufruct of it for his lifetime; and the number of *mayorazgos* or entailed estates heritable by one person was limited. Several particular regulations exist, in strict conformity with the principle.

It was a pitiable omission in our Secretary, when he was delving in *Spanish literature and jurisprudence* in Louisiana, that he forgot to read a little of the Spanish annals.--LABORDE has not failed to enrich his "View of Spain" with the learned and liberal *Memoire* of JOVELLANOS, "on the advancement of agriculture, and on the agrarian laws" of Spain--a production that ought to be studied in every country on the globe. Under the head of "*Right of Primogeniture, or Majorats*," he describes the detrimental influence of *mayorazgos*. A much greater proportion of unalienable property was vested in the different great fa-

milies, than was held by the ecclesiastical bodies by mortmain tenure, "notwithstanding that *mayorazgos* were not introduced in Spain till centuries after the clergy had begun to make territorial acquisitions." He contrasts this barbarous law with the juster principles of the ancients, who made property freely transmissible.

"The ancient legislators, says he, gave an extensive latitude to this faculty of conveying property after death. Solon perpetuated it in his laws, and the Decemviri in those of the twelve Tables. Those laws, although they allowed children to inherit after the demise of their parents without will, did not limit the testator; under the persuasion that in case of good children there would be no necessity, and that no favor should be shown in case of bad ones. While Rome continued virtuous this liberty remained, but when depravity began to enfeeble the sentiments of nature, and to relax its bonds, men began to fix bounds to this privilege, till then of unlimited extent. Children became indebted to the laws for what they might have vainly expected from virtue, and that which was considered as the restraint of corruption, became one of the most powerful means of encouraging vice.

"Yet how widely has our legislature differed from the practice of the ancients! Neither the Greeks, Romans, nor any of the *ancient* legislators had extended the right of bequest beyond the immediate heir; and in fact, to extend it farther, instead of securing, would be to annihilate property; for to give a citizen the power of disposing of his property *forever*, is exactly the same thing as depriving of their right, all the proprietors who may in future succeed him."

"Yet the vulgar herd of our lawyers, from a blind adoration of the Roman Institutes, desire to perpetuate majorats." &c. &c.

He states that the *Fuero Juzgo*, which was the code of public and private justice in Spain down to the 13th century, contains not the slightest vestige of it. The barbarous establishment originated in the feudal laws; transferred, by the Spanish students of law from Bologna to Salamanca, and infused into the Alphonsine code, or laws of the *Partidas*. "This was the germ of that plant whose fruit is now so fatal."

"And would to God, when they had introduced this destructive doctrine, they had taken *fiefs* as their model in the establishment of *majorats*.

"The most ancient precedents of majorats in Spain, reach no higher than the fourteenth century, and they rarely occurred even in that period." "Legal men then began to remove the barriers, which the laws opposed to perpetual entail, till they were entirely abrogated in the 15th century, by the Cortez of Toro."

"But, admitting that majorats (*mayorazgos*) are essential to the support of the nobility, how can they be justified in the *plebeian classes* of society?"

Primogeniture then is not feudal privilege, since *plebeians* have their share of it; nor is a *mayorazgo*, nobility. The abolishment of *mayorazgos* in Chili has been unluckily followed by the creation of nobility and the extension of feudal privilege.—It may be hoped that our author now understands the difference between a *circus* and a *bull*, a *mayorazgo* and a *fief*.—Had he comprehended it a little sooner, it might

have saved his reputation, by causing some *erasures*—amounting to more than a moiety of his book!—The diffusion of the law of entail over Spain and her distant provinces brings us back to *Jovellanos*, who always deserves to be heard.—

“It is surprising to observe how *justice* in Spain has been overturned by the very laws intended for its support. Our lawyers, exclusively devoted to the study of Roman jurisprudence, have introduced at the bar a mass of discordant opinions which wage a perpetual conflict with the wisdom of the courts.—The *cortes* of Toro with the design of defining accurately legal verity, sanctioned opinions the most fatal in their effects.”

“The law of the *Fuero*, in granting the liberty of an unequal division of his goods, had no other aim than that a virtuous father should be able to recompense a dutiful son.—The law of *Toro* by allowing perpetual entail to property unequally divided, has taken away from parents the power of recompense, prevents virtuous children from receiving their merited rewards, and deprives virtue of all that which it gaurantees to family vanity for generations to come.” (Laborde vol. iv.)

The profound *Jovellanos*,—a philosopher and statesman as well as a lawyer, is extremely severe on his own profession.—His investigations, with those of *Campomanes*, on the injustice and impolicy of tolerating the vast mass of ecclesiastical property, only drew down reproaches and persecution on the authors. *Campomanes* happening to lose his eyesight, the clergy affirmed that heaven had punished with that judgment his *impious* arguments against the chartered “vested rights” of the church.—*Jovellanos* incurring the displeasure of the king’s favourite, the Prince of Peace, was immured in a convent, and denied the use of pen, ink, and books,—catechism and breviary excepted!—So detestable are truth, reason, and independence in the eyes of tyrants. —(It is not *likely* that our Secretary will be persecuted for any of these defects.)

A description of “five kinds or classes of mayorazgo,” is given by *Laborde*, volume v. chapter v.

It is not necessary to remind you, my venerable friend, that the principle of entails was applied in England by the Statute of Westminster 2, in 1285, about a century before it was introduced into Spain ---where it was not confirmed until Ferdinand after the death of *Isabella*, convened the *Cortes* at the city of *Toro*.

Laborde could have likewise convinced our “Secretary” that ecclesiastical *jurisdiction*, and the right of presentation to vacant benefices, were neither simultaneous, nor the same!—But where errors swarm thicker than locusts, who can bring down the whole at a single shot? So many are winged and fluttering, that any one may catch them without running a breathless race!

To put *his* political opinions out of doubt, the “Secretary” inculcates the notion, (page 282, vol. II. *et passim*) that a people may be formed for freedom under an aristocratic government. Yet, the uniform testimony of history teaches us that civil institutions deteriorate instead of being perfected—unless the utmost care be exercised in laying their foundations and regulating their forms. He forgets that governments have

incalculable influence on the minds, manners, and principles of the citizens.—The following extracts scarce need a comment:—

"I should be sorry to see a Napoleon rise up among them; but if there should be one, still would I wish him success in the great cause of emancipation from Spain."—*ib* 234.

Yes! yes! if the Brazilians ought to be content with a king, why not the Spanish Americans also? Emancipation from the tyrant is not enough, without emancipation from the tyranny.

"Religion will be unavoidably blended with the government, as the successor to the king is also the head of the church."

There is a more powerful reason: the clergy are left in possession of their property and privileges,—exempt from civil jurisdiction; and for their services in debasing the people, they are admitted into partnership with the military upstarts who have seized the government. The poor people are held in the triple leash of superstition, the sword, and commercial monopoly.—Our Secretary frankly avows the maxims of administration by which this system is to be perpetuated.

"The leading men can figure but a short time on the stage, unless they contrive to close up all the avenues of improvement by a complete restoration of the inquisitorial system of Spain." (285.)

It is in complete operation: a universal system of *espionage* places the whole population in a state of *surveillance*, as to the usurpers.—Will any rational man deny the fact?

"As far as the destinies of the nation can at the present time depend on particular men, they apparently rest on three individuals, Puerreydon, Belgrano, and San Martin, *who have a perfect understanding with each other*, and are supported by the leading men of the country."

This is a rare sentence in such a "Voyage;" for, *it is true*. They erect a secret society or political cabal in Buenos-Ayres, another in Santiago; whose members having an interest separate from the people, are linked together as a faction. Clubs of this kind have a factious tendency every where, and have the same effect as an order of nobility. Over this occult machinery is reared a politico-military order—a *legion of honor*, with salaries and privileges annexed. Chili being really a province of Buenos-Ayres, is governed accordingly.

"To condemn (San Martin) for *supposed intentions*, would not be just: as long as a man's actions are great and honorable, it is ungenerous to supply improper motives."

Intentions! was he ever so much as *censured* for intentions? Did not the "Secretary," callous as he is, regard the murder of two illustrious republicans, by order of San Martin, as a "melancholy event?" And he, after such an admission, talks of *intentions*!—though

All great Neptune's ocean cannot wash this blood
Clean from his hand.

Yet, our "Secretary" seems to argue as coldly on the butchery, as an instigator could: "Things without remedy, should be without regard—What's done, is done."—This baseness is unspeakably reprehensible in an *American* citizen. SAN MARTIN endeavors to buoy himself

up in his arbitrary career by the example of England; of that England who expended *millions in bribes*, distributed by her *agents* in Switzerland, &c. to excite the fury of factions, and spread horror among the revolutionists in France; of that same England who now smiles benignantly on the sanguinary conduct which disgraces and nullifies the revolution in Buenos-Ayres and Chili.*—How culpable then is the writer who labors to misdirect public opinion in the *United States*? who yields approbation to deeds that merit eternal execration? who tries to present to *honest Fame*, the subjects, the favorites of *Infamy*?

If the note to page 58, vol. II. be authentic and intelligible, the "Secretary" confesses, that he acted as a spy over the republican general Carrera, by means of a royalist,—as he appears to have done at Montevideo on another occasion.

Page 272. "Mr. Adams's Defence of the American Constitutions, which at this time was very much read and studied, gave them ideas of checks, and balances in government." &c.

Neither *check* nor balance has yet been discovered capable of controlling the absorption of all influence by the executive branches of government, whether elective or hereditary. A deliberative body may balance a deliberative body, but no other. An executive power must be poised by another, or limited in duration, or its patronage abridged by distribution in various channels,—else the head becomes the supreme director of the members. Experience indicates no other alternative.---Our Secretary appears to have admitted this opinion, and *prefers* the result! page 267.

"But, I have already noticed the peculiar tendency in this union towards anarchy in the members, *much more to be dreaded, than to absolute power in the head.*" Again: "To preserve the balance, was an extremely difficult task; the habits of the people inclined them to look up to the executive for every thing; and *this branch was therefore found by degrees to have engrossed all authority.*"

Experiments made in all countries testify invariably to the same principle.---This acknowledgement of our "Secretary" not only refutes his aspersions on the South American republicans, who sought to restrain excessive power; but leaves himself inexcusable, for attacking them as visionaries, who had faith in *paper-constitutions*, while he had none, or very little. True it is, that constitutions of civil government are so often overturned by *construction*, that we are in danger of losing a portion of our veneration for them.---We should guard them, however, against the *arts* and the *order* that are forever sapping them. *We put the laws under the ægis of a corps interested in litigation.*---We suffer them to be couched in ambiguity, or overlaid by a technical phraseology, having reference to the common law. Nay, more: *We select our legislators from decipherers and interpreters*; or we send illiterate delegates, who must be *led* by others. Confusion is the conse-

* To a consular and political agent at ———, the British government gives a salary of 12,000 dollars, with other privileges—a good stipend for "fanning the embers" of faction!

quence. We sow the wind, and reap the whirlwind. Every law ought to be expressed in the common language,—simple and intelligible.—Historians have wondered at the conciseness of treaties and public documents among the Swiss, who would comprise an ordinance in a few sentences. The secret is, that they used no superfluous words, and intended no evasion.—Their meaning was conveyed *directly, perspicuously, briefly*. A law with them, as with Gulliver's great people, was not the parent of a hundred law suits and subterfuges.—It is curious enough, says Naylor, "to compare the concise and simple style employed by the Helvetic states in regulating the conditions of their federative government with the verbose and complex forms of modern diplomacy." Can we not dispense with their *translations*, and express laws intelligibly? They answer, NO.

The people have in REALITY lost their power,—the sceptre has departed from their hands, by relinquishing the authorship and enactment of the LAWS, to an order who profit by "universal doubt."—(Many executive offices, I grant, under this system, require to be filled by lawyers.)

This accounts for the progeny of unconstitutional and anti-republican ordinances spawned under "construction,"—without express authority. We professed strict *equality of rights*, and immediately invaded our constitution to confer PRIVILEGES!

We stipulated most solemnly to have a sacred respect for *property*; and we quickly invested a club of persons with the *privilege of disturbing all the property, real and personal, in the nation*.—The emission of paper-money, universally affecting prices, operates this effect.

Orders and parties thus created appear to be inextinguishable.—Wherefore? *Can the people not correct abuses, repeal the objectionable laws, and resume their lost power?*—The high priests and the pettifoggers of the law answer, NO.

What! Is iniquity irrevocable? is error unalterable? is assumption irreversible?

The lawyers, the greatest of them too, reply that—IT IS. They tell us, that the question is not even liable to be discussed; that if congress once stumble, the *faux-pas* is irreparable: if judges usurped or erred for once, they are bound to abide by it forever.

But the *interpreters* cannot be serious in urging such tenets?

They say they are.

Human nature being fallible, it was our boast that we had introduced a system of *moral liberty* and *legislative reason*, under which error could not be incorrigible; that the defects of yesterday would be amended to-day, and improvement be progressive with knowledge.—But, our luminaries of the law teach otherwise: the gentlemen blind us by *their* light. They maintain dogmas of infallibility more transcendent than the popes' pretended to: for, in cases of the Supreme Pontiff, people could appeal to general councils from an arbitrary or unscriptural bull, but from the bulls of a Supreme Court there lies no appeal. It is the last resort. Opinions fluctuate; but we must regard all their *dicta* as infallible. We must not examine the *doctrine*, but submit to the *decision*!

And have the people lost all sensibility and bid adieu to their rational faculties? *It seems so for the present.* Perchance they are only asleep, not dead.—

The consequences of these backslidings must be a *practical* government widely different from that on paper,—and as originally intended.—Orders are introduced: We have as your favorite author says, four parties, the *republican, monarchical, stock, and patronage*.—(All are divisible into two classes—friends and enemies of equal rights.)—The confederacy of aristocratical interest threatens to overwhelm the *public* interest. Election will degenerate apace into prescribed formality, or a forestalled opinion.—The press will be silenced, or speak like a parrot the lessons it is taught.—A small minority instead of a majority can rule the many-headed multitude.—We have tacitly surrendered the citadel where we had deposited the palladium of liberty. It was not necessary to rifle it. We threw it open.

The worst calamity of all is the conduits prepared for the conveyance of executive influence through the instrumentality of these orders: whenever (if ever) we happen to have an aspiring president. The most subtle element in nature, the electric fluid, *cannot pass without a medium*. It is inoperative and powerless *in vacuo*.—To keep tyranny at a distance the instruments of it ought to be broken betimes.

From all which I conclude in partially excusing the “Secretary” for his contempt of “paper constitution men;” but, to preserve the paper constitution, I would draw their fangs, or bridle the sophisters that destroy it, or explain it away.—We cannot possibly retain our respect for an instrument which is stretched to-day and will be shrivelled to-morrow, according to the interests or caprice of a ruling party.—It is now extended to embrace incorporations, i. e. to *admit the wooden horse*: It is again contracted to prevent the exit of slavery.—Let such instruments therefore be written in comprehensible language; but presume not to supply an omission by *construction*. Amendments are easily procured, when obviously requisite; but, when glosses come in, law walks out. The toleration of a single departure from the plain literal import of a constitutional provision *destroys the conditions and relations of the whole*. One breach in a fortress is quite sufficient to let in the enemy.—To allow of forced constructions “is to give way to the torrent of opinions.”

When our South-American friends begin to fortify their civil rights, they must take care to exclude the *termites* who would prey upon the leaves of their charter, and scatter the fragments to the winds,—unmeaning as the ravings of the Sybil.—Notwithstanding the worth and talent perverted in the profession,* sustained in popularity by the pleasing

*I am not so illiberal as to insinuate that our “Secretary” is a fair specimen of the corps,—though his book reminds one of the quarter where advocates of abuses may be indefinitely recruited. The profession opens the sublime study of moral science,—but its practical tendency is indisputably pernicious.—As a particular class are enriched by the disorders of society, they are tempted to create social diseases. In a single county, the most opulent of this state at the last term of the court, *twelve hundred new lawsuits* were instituted for the recovery of debts,

arts of declamation;—notwithstanding the *eloquence* that *occasionally* adorns it, the people are reduced to the alternative of abolishing *lawyer-prerogative* or of *being politically demolished by it*.—

The American revolution was undeniably the triumph of insulted reason over insulting authority. As we forget the maxims of that glorious æra, the latter recovers the reins. Our experience confirms a shrewd remark of De Pradt, that a state may be assailed by the parent country with most success, *sometime after its independence* is established. As true principles disappear before constructive analogies, we relapse into old practices, inconsistent with the new government. But I have wandered too far from the text!

We must enter into a more serious reckoning with him by and by than his deficiency as a linguist: he is even more unfaithful than incompetent. His observations on men are as notable as on bulls and circuses.

Of Mr. Tagle, the Secretary of State, he observes:—"His *private character* is not free from imputation, with what justice, I shall not take upon me to say."

Was this fraction of truth forced from him by Tagle's saying that our Secretary could not converse in Spanish, while his *flagitious crimes* are unnoticed, I suppose, because he (Tagle) is *one* of the "men in power?" Did he not learn Tagle's celebrity in guilty intrigue?—*taking bribes with avidity*,—and then pronouncing his opinion that republicanism was ridiculous, because he regarded all others to be base and corrupt as himself?—The facts proved against him in the remonstrance (now before me) of *D. Benito Vidal* to the congress, and disregarded by that *independent* body, are not surpassed in the annals of iniquity.

He attended obsequiously, no doubt, to Mr. *Alvarez*, who is one of the chiefs of the government—Formerly guilty of insubordination, he was elevated for a season, by one revolt, and sent out of office in another, loaded with accusations, for which he has never been brought to account—notwithstanding the farcical enquiry of *residencia*, of which our author must surely speak in jest. "He appeared extremely desirous of cultivating our acquaintance," page 8: and *his* information must have been acceptable, as he is "married to a niece of general Belgramo," the monarchist, and *one* of "the three great men of the country."

The Secretary represents Mr. *Funes* as a timid, querulous old man, who harbors some horror at the scenes of the revolution, (though an accomplice in one of the worst,) moody at the hard fate of Cordova, his native city. "He is inclined towards the federative system." Dr. *Funes* (I am informed) spoke of the monopoly of Buenos-Ayres,—of the spoliation committed on the rights and *library* of Cordova; and evidently felt some grief at the subjection of his province to the poten-

and only twenty-one had been determined!—Most of these had grown, I suppose, out of bank debts, loans, and derangements of the currency.—How vast must have been the distress throughout our country, from incorporations, &c! Privileged corps united by a kindred spirit become allies in oppression.

tates of Buenos-Ayres. We devoutly wish the rest of his conduct had been honorable as this! He decided it otherwise!

Old Mr. Escalada has the peculiar merit of being the father-in-law of general *San Martin*, "unquestionably the great man of the country." He became conspicuous soon after the revolution, by menacing the new republic with a counter-revolution, unless the government should desist from punishing Concha, (the Spanish governor and intendant) taken in arms against it. He was ordered to Coche, 12 leagues from the city, for his misconduct. This is the *true whig*, in our Secretary's view.—We presume to speak only of gentlemen's political behaviour and principles. Their choice company may denote gentility; their Falernian wine may evince hospitality; but it is immaterial to this "residencia" whether the gay visitors danced *minuets*, *contradanzas* or *fandangos*. Page 10, vol. II.

Mr. *Frias* and *Villegas*, though said to be devoid of abilities, or great acquirements, are praised to the highest note, being "men in power."

Mr. *Iregoyen*, secretary of war, he describes as a *showy* man, and extremely ambitious,—“tormented by envy at the success of others,” and discontented, “that he is not placed above every one.” Ambition is no crime: if it be culpable in him, what is it in Puerreydon, or San Martin and Belgrano, who sought for monarchy? We must infer that Mr. Iregoyen spoke unfavorably of the conduct of government, and consequently forfeited the praise of its flatterer.

Page 14, vol. II. “I have frequently heard San Martin and his wife cited as an example of a happy marriage, which is by no means negative praise in a country where morals are unfortunately depraved, and where the marriage state is held in too little respect.”

To me, my friend, it appears as impertinent as mean to debase a whole people for the sake of paying more oily adulation to a man already corrupted by it. San Martin's deportment as a husband, does not concern us.—If he exterminated the bravest of brave patriots in Chili, in order to oppress their country, quash republican sentiments, and entrench himself in usurped power, the garlands woven for his brow by the “Secretary of the Mission,” must fade to bloom no more. I shall rigorously enquire into the proofs of those “unhappy deeds” in the sequel. Perhaps I may have pursued the Secretary's track to an improper extent in some cases.—He had no business to enter the sanctuary of private life, to extol “San Martin and his wife” as a rare exception from the practice of the community. An American reader will be apt to reprimand him with the blunt rebuke of Sancho Panza: “*miracle or no miracle*,” said Sancho, “let every man take care how he speaks or writes of honest people, and *not* set down at a venture the first thing that comes into his jolter head.”

* Mr. *De Forrest*, (we ask pardon for the reference) will not dispute this point: though a republican himself, he believes the majority of *men of property* in Buenos-Ayres are in favor of royalty, and that it would suit *them* better than republicanism. They are not *singular*!

Such are the features of the Secretary's observations on men and measures.—He rejects the testimony of the Americans, English, French, even of the Secretary at war, unanimous and impartial, and forms his opinion from that of four or five *placemen*, who are interested.—But, he is a quondam “judge,” you know—and it is the doctrine of the present day in this *lawyer-ridden nation*, that judges and lawyers are infallible as Popes. The pretensions are about equal. We need political *Luthers* to reform the *infallibles*.

It has been *pointedly* remarked by gentlemen familiarly acquainted with Buenos-Ayres, that the place where our Secretary planted his *observatory*, is singular as his doctrine. Twelve dollars a month for a lodging! when, for the credit of his country and station, he ought to have expended above a hundred. Oh fyel!--However, if it was not splendid, it was a clean, comfortable paradise, “a beautiful aromatic shrub on one side of the door, and a jessamine on the other,” (page 6, vol. II.) and Dona Marcella within, like Prosorpine,---“herself a fairer flower.”---All was *physically* neat and orderly, and the lady and her daughters had an extensive acquaintance. “I found my situation so comfortable, says B——, (page 6, vol. II.) that I was unwilling to change it even after the commissioners had been fixed in their new establishment.”---I say nothing of his residence in such a temple; supposing it to have arisen from accident and misinformation.---It was not a place adapted to *political* enquiry: and it was extremely unfortunate for another reason: It separated this false, indiscreet mortal from the guardianship of the commissioners, gave astute men occasion for overreaching him through his vanity, and subjected him to intemperate deportment, in which he dishonored the Mission by his foolish loquacity, malignity and misconduct. His “insinuations” perhaps, endangered the life of one of them, and degraded the dignity of all. An American gentleman was so wounded at the infamous proceeding, that he mentioned the circumstance by letter to a late American agent then in Chili, and now in Baltimore.---I extract the following:--

“BUENOS-AYRES, 1st of May, 1818.

“Strange reports are in circulation respecting the object of his (Mr. *****s) journey. *All have arisen from the indecorous and highly scandalous conversation of the Secretary Brackenridge*, who spoke of the Commissioners as of the most indifferent persons in this place---and really rendered his utmost services to make them contemptible in the opinion of all their fellow citizens. You know my unbiassed patriotism. I felt hurt beyond expression, Government should be very cautious in such appointments.---*I have reason to fear his insinuations have travelled on with Mr. ******, and if made public, will place him in an awkward predicament.”

On perfidy like the Secretary's, remark is useless. The dictates of duty could not bind him to prudence against the native malignancy of his disposition.---Decency and honor were to him unmeaning sounds:

he embarrasses a public officer in an important duty,--he depreciates them all in the very scene of their action; and actually occasioned a cold repulsive treatment in a certain quarter, which stung the feelings of the Commissioners, and thwarted their purposes in a great degree. The treacherous cause, not revealed until this letter imparted it to a friend, after their departure---this, I say, partially explains the rumoured want of cordiality in their reception or intercourse at Buenos-Ayres.--See! how he repaid the kindness---the charity of the commissioners who generously retained him as Secretary, instead of dismissing him, *after* they were obliged to call in others to perform an essential part of the duty to which he was incompetent!---Perfidiousness so flagrant, so unpardonable, cannot but excite extreme disgust.---A detected impostor will not readily find any refuge but---Coventry. If I make any reference again to him, it is only as a necessary instrument for elucidating a highly interesting subject.

As he catechized a young American, (p. 35.) who was unfriendly to men in power,* so we interrogate him, and answer for him on authority of his book :

How long was he at Buenos-Ayres ? Only six weeks.

Was he much among different classes of people ? Only among persons in power :

Could *he* speak the language ? No.

Had he ever been out of the United States before ? No.

That no species of disingenuousness might be unattempted, our Secretary devotes nearly two pages in his epitome of stromaticks, alias hotch-potch, (37, 38, vol. II.) to mangle a most excellent letter, written I believe, by the most distinguished of the commissioners, to a private friend in this city. It is characterised by the same impartiality and independence that have uniformly marked that gentleman's thoughts and actions. After garbling it the secretary says, "*I have inserted it in the appendix.*" And yet he has omitted it, lest the whole tenor of the letter should attract admiration and detect his fallacy. It is the same production we read together heretofore, in *Niles's Register*, vol. xiv. p. 288,-9.

Before he went to Buenos-Ayres, the Secretary had expressed a decorous opinion that "it was equally wrong in us to pretend to take sides in the political disputes which must occur in La Plata, as well as in other republics." p. 351, vol. II.

We have no right, we claim none, to intermeddle in their internal affairs; but it would be both humane and politic to interpose our friendly mediation between conflicting provinces, if not parties. Buenos-Ayres has been uninvaded since the revolution;—she grew haughty in her security, and turned invader herself: she sought to humble equal

* "He came to me, and in a kind of half whisper, as if afraid of being overheard, and a mysterious face, *related to me all those horrors* which I have already noticed, and many more." And all this civility seems to have been treated with scorn.—He distrusted persons unconnected with place or power, but confides in the exculpatory stories of the officers of government.

states, and reduced Cordova and others to her domination. What conspired to fan this ambitious spirit, I shall treat of hereafter. It kindled a conflagration that rages to this hour. With the exit of *Puerreydon* from the directorship, a milder administration is believed to have succeeded—Robespierrean executions and judicial murders have abated or ceased—and possibly the sanguinary system is entirely exploded. In Chili and Mendoza the priests of Moloch are perhaps satiated with blood. The pause offers an occasion to interfere with effect. I entreat you to revolve *this* opinion in your clearer mind, and give me yours. Sentiments published in the *Censor* of Buenos-Ayres some time ago, (though rather *sui generis*) give plausibility to the scheme. The editor observes in substance; *we vibrate between one system of government and another, now looking to Europe, now to the United States, uncertain which of them will recognise us.** In truth, he intimates that fluctuating between both, they were ready to grapple themselves to the political principles of either! so heavily weighed foreign opinion in their judgment! Here is an unusual deference to the views of others. Its weakness strengthens the argument for my position. Let us seize the occasion. How glorious, how God-like to reconcile foes! assuage acerbity, banish feuds, emancipate opinion, fortify freedom, and bury the dagger! This friendly, affectionate, Christian part would I play. In this attitude of dignified benevolence, we should petrify the disturbers with awe: patriots would hail us as saviours: we should gain the sincerest benedictions.—Thus should we disarm virulence by a moral weapon, “compel without force” and depose usurpers by opinion. I mean, such would be the *consequence* of our amicable mediation. This measure seems worthy of the nation, to which Bolivar, Carrera, all Spanish-America, looked up, as to the *political head of the continent*. This would be widely different from cringing to vice (as our Secretary does) because it happens to be invested with power. Let us exhibit more contradictions for variety’s sake.

P. 102, 3, vol. II. he reverberates the eulogium of De Pradt, on the city of Buenos-Ayres, that neither Tyre nor Carthage; the city of Alexander or Constantine, had higher destinies. “There is no other town in South-America, whose position is in any way to be compared with it.”—If she possesses these advantages in herself, *why prey upon her neighbors?*—Why impose her governors and prætors, and interdict their commerce? However, if he does not answer these questions he settles the account. Hear *per contra*:—His intention and his evidence rarely agree:

“Unless the war terminates successfully in this quarter, (Upper Peru &c.) Buenos-Ayres, from being a great emporium *must dwindle away*” &c. p. 133.—With Paraguay and the provinces of Peru an

* This indecision may be one reason why Buenos-Ayres, though sure of independence, has not reared a single institution in support of civil liberty, except those introduced by Dr. *Mariano Moreno*, in the time of the first Junta, or by Don *M. Serratea* soon after. Indeed the best of them has been evaded or arbitrarily overleaped, as we shall see hereafter.

intercourse and trade can scarcely be said to exist" p. 103.—One day or other, the whole of this table land, capable of supporting twice the population of France, will be attracted to the shores of the Pacific, through its means," viz. a communication from lake Titicaca, to that ocean, (see p. 137,) Consult also *Blund's* report on Chili, p. 117. Unless military or other despotism prevent, the commerce of Potosi and the adjacent provinces will naturally be attracted to the nearer ports on the Pacific. Why then this vapouring about *Buenos-Ayres* as an emporium, when the foundation is denied next moment? Nature not designating her for a great mart, intrigue cannot retain the exclusion it seizes. From many letters written in *Buenos-Ayres*, I select the following extract of a letter, its author one of the most respectable gentleman there.

“*Buenos-Ayres*, 3d June, 1819.

“The celebration of an armistice with general Artigas's agents, or the people of Santa-Fe, induced a belief that a friendly and lasting arrangement was almost certain: I fear not, although this government has ceded many PRETENSIONS. *Without a peace with Artigas, this place will absolutely become a nullity, as respects the interior trade.* The leading points insisted on by Artigas were the independence of the Banda Oriental, the establishing of Santa Fe as a free port of trade for the interior. This admission will cut a very large slice from the trade of this place, as *Santa-Fe is a very central spot, a poor miserable town now, but as a free port would flourish beyond all calculation; for it can easily supply Chili, Mendoza and Peru with all the yerba required (which is immense) and at a much lower rate than this place—the distance over land being considerably less, and carts of every kind are to be had in abundance—There is plenty of materials for making them.*”

This simple relation speaks a volume. A practical merchant does not say that “it is too high up the river for sea vessels.” 92, vol II. Documents like it, from merchants on the spot cannot be rebutted by flippancy. Our “Secretary” abuses the cities and provinces for refusing to be crushed, and the people he paints in English colors and his own, (p. 110, vol. II. &c. &c.) as barbarous, vicious and ignorant, to justify despotic cabal in *Buenos-Ayres*. He is right when he remarks that “*something* has been said with respect to the town of Santa-Fe,” for the attempt to conquer it by the “*military REPUBLIC*” (as he facetiously calls *Buenos-Ayres*) has cost rivers of blood. And this unprincipled scribbling “Secretary” dares to insult the brave men who resist chains! to stigmatize as refractory barbarians the champions of equal rights! to asperse with opprobrium the intelligent citizens and independent soldiers who distinguish *things* from *names*—who scorn the absurd idea of setting up *fallible* judges to dole out *infallible* opinions.

I fear that I am growing tedious—I have trespassed on your patience. Nevertheless I must crave your attention for a moment longer to a concise commentary on a subject very industriously misrepresented, and strangely misunderstood—I mean general *Artigas's* warfare with Portugal, his privateers, &c.

Our hopeful Secretary, who calculates his work for *three meridians*,—for Washington,—for Rio Janeiro, and Buenos-Ayres, is sometimes distracted by attempting to keep watch on each. The hundred-eyed Argus, you know, used always to keep a pair of eyes open whilst ninety eight slept; sentinels relieved sentinels, and his guard-house was never shut—till Mercury's time. But, a man who has only a couple is obliged to close both at times, and snore or nod unguarded; else by extreme watchfulness he becomes squint-eyed, or purblind. Hence much incongruity, from the obliquity of vision. He shamefully mistakes a cautious policy at Washington for an illiberal one, and writes accordingly. Your learned and justly celebrated friend the Abbe, he knows to be a favorite there: and, as this diplomatist is in duty bound (as such,) to vindicate that wicked policy, which as a moralist he must abhor, *Brack*. mistakes the official character for the natural one. He consequently misreckons with a vengeance: with tooth and nail he defends the unjustifiable aggression of the king of Brazil. By volunteering in this unjust cause the pettifogger secures a king for a client, and bears down upon the republican *Artigas* without mercy; annihilates his ports, clips his territory (on paper,) scalps his character, tomahawks his *gauchos*, d—s his lubberly, piratical sailors, and mauls his confessor and secretary. The "last not least" of his tripartite cares is to bepraise the "men in power" at La Plata, and to malign their enemies Hercules himself would have resigned his club, doffed his lion's skin, and taken up the distaff, (jennies were not then in vogue,) rather than lay his shoulder to *such labour*.

Though our Secretary treats of a law-subject, in glancing at the *rights of war*, he stumbles at every step.—If he himples along so lamely on his chosen ground, how must he figure on a different field? Let us cite him in various parts verbatim.

"I have uniformly condemned the whole scheme of privateering in the name of the patriot governments, especially of those that have neither ships, seamen, nor even ports of their own." preface, page x.

"The town of *Maldonado*. at the distance of two or three miles from the beach, had been *abandoned by the Portuguese*; and English or American vessels were permitted to carry on a trade with the inhabitants. The whole coast was in fact, under the controul of the Portuguese, and was maintained by not less than eight or ten vessels of war. The Banda Oriental does not even own a single ton of shipping: and I question much whether Artigas has half a dozen seamen in the whole extent of his government. Since my return to this country, I saw in the newspapers the names of several ports under his jurisdiction; but I heard nothing of them whilst I was there.—Some trade up the Uruguay is carried on in small sloops, by individuals from Buenos-Ayres UNDER A KIND OF SPECIAL LICENSE AND FAVOR FROM ARTIGAS, and winked at by the government of that place." page 259, vol. I.

"It is our policy to be on good terms with that government [of Brazil,] and we have every reason to believe that a disposition prevails to be friendly.—This was certainly the case, until the depredations committed on Portuguese commerce by vessels notoriously fitted out

from American ports." (Letters on South American affairs, as altered and revised in the new edition. Ap. II. page 344.

"She [Spain, at the time of Beresford's expedition] had a few wretched troops at Buenos-Ayres and Montevideo; and an indifferent naval force, chiefly stationed at the latter of these places, which from the circumstance of BEING NEARER THE OCEAN, and HAVING A BETTER HARBOUR, was the naval depot." page 219, vol. I.

"It is chiefly by the commerce with Paraguay that the sailors of the river are formed, as it was there also that the only vessels used in its navigation were constructed." vol. I. page 275, (already cited.)

"Experience, he (Funes) says, has shown that moderation would have been wiser than violence. It is no easy matter to say what would have been the best manner of *managing* a man of this [viz. Artigas's description,"—"but they did not reflect that Artigas had in his hands the effective force of the country,"—*ib.* page 250.

"The men bearing arms under Artigas, probably amount to six or eight thousand" page 241.—His fame and superior intellect command their respect.—A few simple words, *liberty, country, tyrants*; to which each one attaches his own meaning, [for they have yet no pettifoggers to explain away all meaning,] serve as the ostensible bond of their union." *ib.*

"That there should have been such a leader as Artigas, is probably the greatest misfortune that could have happened.—Such is the people against whom the Portuguese and the people of Buenos-Ayres are at war." page 229.

"The simple fact is, that if his name had not been used to give sanction to privateers, we should have heard little in his praise." p. 230.

—"Three hundred men under a chief named Otorquez, appearing and disappearing like the wolves of the plain, accomplish their purpose (of blockading Montevideo) as effectually as if their numbers had amounted to five thousand."

"No kind of force can be better adapted to defend this country against the present invaders, though otherwise of no great importance, as it cannot be subjected to regular discipline, or be kept any length of time embodied."

"A gaucho, with a piece of roasted beef, (which is almost the only food) tied to his saddle skirt, is amply provided for several days."—"I cannot see how it is possible for the Portuguese to make any farther progress in the conquest of this country,"—the mildness of the climate is such, that the natives can live in the open air the whole year round, and the immense herds which roam through the country furnish them with ample means of subsistence; at the same time that the parties which commonly hover round the march of their enemies, deprive them of this resource."—p. 223, 4.

"The roving bands, or montaneros, sent over by Artigas, do not merely distress Buenos-Ayres, but all the other provinces by cutting off their connexion with their emporium.— p. 23, vol. II.

"This province [Rio Grande in Brazil] formerly exported and supplied the others on the sea-coast with flour and wheat; but for the last

two years there had been no exports of consequence, raising scarcely sufficient for the supply of the troops which have been thrown into the southern part of Brazil, for the purpose of keeping up the war with Artigas." vol. I. p. 173. Finally,

"It is not more than a year or eighteen months ago, SINCE WE knew any thing about *Artigas* in this country." vol. II. p. 22.

I fear, my friend, that the Secretary has ensnared himself in a desperate cause: if this great lawyer has not received a fee, his plight is bad; and if he has, it is worse: the inextricable *lazo* is around him: let him disentangle it if he can.

That *he* knew nothing until lately of general *Artigas* the president of the Oriental republic, may be true; yet the fame of his valour is coeval with the revolution of *La Plata*, he signalized himself by enterprize from the beginning—The first report of him came wafted with the sound of victory—the last tidings announced victory—over superior forces too. Inflexible and wary, he adheres to his simple purpose, the liberation of his country; and cautiously evades the snares by which he was once nearly circumvented. Anxious to *confederate* with Buenos-Ayres, *he has made successive overtures for an union on just representative principles*, but spurns subjection to Buenos-Ayres: no allurements can inveigle him from his design. He never wavers. When the biography of this *popular chief shall be* impartially written, he will appear to mankind, an extraordinary personage. History will associate his name, and compare his deeds, (but not I trust, his fortune!) with those of *Viriatius*, the intrepid champion, who bravely resisted the Romans, until treacherously murdered at the instigation of their consul; with the fame of *Sertorius*, a warrior and sage, whose grand designs for the liberty, greatness, and civilization of his hapless country, were blasted also by the stroke of an assassin:* Yes, sir, Artigas must appear on the same roll with *Sertorius* and *Pelagius*, contending against the united foes of liberty and independence.—The unequal strife he maintains against Spain,—against Brazil,—against Buenos-Ayres, (a "triple alliance" as to him!) elevates him before the world. Neither the theatre nor the drama, is unknown; and much of the plot is developed in the progress of the *action*. Here, however, *in limine*, I ask neither for your opinion nor *viva!* Admiration itself, might dazzle the judgment. Let us recollect the Secretary's testimony, before we adduce more.

The sanguinary war with "wild gauchos" or wilder democrats of the Oriental Banda has desolated the important Brazilian province of Rio Grande. Between Artigas's incursions, and the troops of *His Most Faithful Majesty*, its prosperity is no more.

The Montaneros who pass both the Uruguay and Paraguay, not mere-

*It is an admirable example of the fidelity of these unsophisticated people, that neither public rewards for his head, nor private bribes offered by his enemies, could corrupt a single adherent to murder their leader.—6000 dollars had no effect—70 ounces of gold and an elegant pair of pistols had no influence except to augment the odium against Buenos-Ayres. None could be hired or seduced to perpetrate so black a deed.

ly distress Buenos-Ayres (on the right bank of La Plata) but all the other provinces:

In that delicious climate, those martial herdsman, or natural cavalry, can neither be beaten, nor starved: they are inexpugnable; *three hundred* of them can blockade a garrisoned town as effectually as *five thousand*.

Those Centaurs are united to a man, and almost adore their general: their rallying words are, "LIBERTY, COUNTRY, TYRANTS:" [I need not remind you, that this admission of their union undermines the defence set up elsewhere for the Brazilian invaders,—viz. that they only wished to repel the *anarchy* which raged in the Oriental Banda, threatening to spread to their frontiers,—and (*entre nous*) infect their vassals.]

Artigas wields the effective force of the country; and it is the most puzzling perplexity in the world, how to "*manage* a man of his description."

Sailors are formed in the navigation of the river Paraguay, which is interrupted by the people of *Entre Rios* whenever Artigas pleases; and that of the Uruguay he controuls entirely, permitting his enemies to spread their sails in it, under license.—(mem. "a *kind* of license!")

English and Americans trade with the Orientals at Maldonado: You will remember that there exists a commercial treaty for free trade between general Artigas and the British.—As he fosters commerce in every direction, suffering his declared enemies to carry it on within his territorial jurisdiction, we may conclude that he has an expanded mind, which embraces the policy of promoting the best social institutions, as soon as he triumphs over the troops of the coalition.—He harbors ideas of justice and equality.

The question of the *rights of war* is very simple. When nations adopt the last resort, that is, appeal from reason to force, adjourning from the council-room to the field of battle, each party may lawfully exert all his moral, intellectual, and physical energies against the other. On the ocean or the land, belligerent smites belligerent. Neutrals are bound only to impartiality in the bloody fray.—*In this broil, a very stupid clamor has been set up by the advocates of the aggressors, and echoed over the country, that Artigas unjustly assailed by land has no rights on the water!!!* Let us examine the pretence deliberately:—

A famed nation of antiquity was thought tyrannical when she attempted to appropriate a portion of the Mediterranean, (as Great Britain the NARROW SEAS, or CHANNEL,) to herself, and would not suffer the Romans to wash their hands in the sea of Sicily. This sturdy rival becoming dominant in turn, adopted the sordid precedent, and forbade Antiochus to keep above ten small barques. Our Secretary, it seems, would not license ARTIGAS to wash his hands in the Atlantic, or the great estuary of La Plata.*—How unsanctified, how desecrated must

*As usual, he contradicts himself when speaking of *Buenos-Ayres*, whose naval exertions, though made by *privateers*, he mentions with satisfaction. Page 178, vol. II. he relates the arrival of an English armed brig at Buenos-Ayres, "with a complement of one hundred and fifty English sailors, commanded by an English lieutenant." She belonged to the government, or was brought for sale, "A squad-

that poor sinner be, who is inhibited from dipping his finger in this grand basin of holy water! It is an *aggravation* of the torment imposed on Tantalus, especially, *if ALL the commodious havens of La Plata, and the finest rivers in all that delightful section of the world are situated in the territory of the Banda Oriental, and that of her allies.* Of this fact, below:—

The pretension becomes intolerable, as every people are equally entitled to launch fleets on that element, and plow its surface from pole to pole. From this equality, M. Azuni remarks, that “if at the present day, a perfect democracy were possible, the sea alone would become the theatre of its existence.” As no nation can presume a prerogative where none can acquire property, it is ridiculous to hear an advocate of the king of Brazil challenging the lawfulness of a cruizer that finds her way to the ocean under the commission of the Oriental republic. Let the enemy pull down her flag in honorable combat, if he can.—Insolent as was his *tone*, this was Cromwell’s *meaning*, when he wrote to admiral Blake, inviting him to drive back the [Dutch] frogs to their native marshes, that they might not disturb him by their *croaking*.—Exercise the rights of war, in God’s name, fairly and manfully against Artigas, and let us have less croaking from party-writers.—If you will continue your *raven* notes, we shall accept them as ominous to your cause,—as boding ruin to kingly ambition.—As our Secretary hails the king’s advent, so I hope, Artigas will give him a warm reception!

The complaint against privateering ought to have been couched in language less ambiguous “I have uniformly condemned the whole scheme of privateering in the name of the patriot governments.” So says Mr. “Secretary to the late Mission.”—*I have gone farther:—I disapprove of harrassing and plundering individuals in a public quarrel, as wantonly increasing the miseries of mankind. Let public forces assail each other, and private citizens be unmolested. It is lamentable that great maritime powers should have so long retarded the progress of justice. They have baffled the efforts of the liberal to incorporate in the conventional law of nations, a perpetual, universal, inviolable protection for private property of every description. “Political Justice” and Christian equity invoke this safeguard for social intercourse. Place the goods of individuals under the guaranty of public law. Wherefore should a ship and her cargo be forfeited in the self-same war, by the identical belligerent who respects a landed estate and personal effects?* The principle of property is invariable. It is an

ron will be absolutely necessary for their joint operation against Lima. They have *ten or twelve privateers* in commission, which annoy the Spanish commerce so much that it has already disappeared from the ocean.”

If general ARTIGAS thinks privateers “absolutely necessary” to his operations, how does he incur censure? Is not the government which contends for freedom, authorized to use as many engines as one that fights solely for the spoils of power?—Our Secretary has *not* then “condemned the *whole* scheme of privateering”—he does not condemn the scheme as it respects Buenos-Ayres or Chili, but he would tie up Artigas’s hands while the Portuguese or Buenos-Ayreans should cut off his head.

absolute right: and why is it violable in one case, and inviolable in another?—Has a fleet more privileges than an army? In reason it has not; in usage it has. Squadrons enjoy *prerogatives* of pillaging at sea, for exercising the least of which an army would be decimated.—Soldiers who commit robbery on individuals, in an enemy's country, usually suffer prompt, public, exemplary punishment. Why have nations lapsed into a distinction in custom where there is no rational one?—It is because the weaker are controuled by the stronger.—To you, my enlightened friend, who could instruct nations on this subject, I need not enlarge. The map of history is ever open to your capacious mind; you have marked the boundaries of right with precision; and sure I am, you repine at the stupor and cowardice which brooked innovations on maritime law, and acquiesced in violations of natural rights that ought to have been warmly resisted *at the door*.—Is it too late to plead for the restoration of equitable principles? Nations, I hope, will yet combine for universal rights,—though leagued for the last twenty-seven years against them.

The proposition made in July, 1792, by M. *Chauvelin*, the French ambassador, to lord Grenville, the English secretary of state, will forever reflect honor on the French government:—it was proposed, and in an eloquence worthy of the elevated principle, that the two governments should stipulate, in the event of future wars to discard the ignoble practice of seizing the private property of enemy's subjects on the high seas.—How was this offer relished by the cabinet of England?—With silent, gloomy, indecent scorn: *no answer was returned*. *Chauvelin* was soon dismissed.—England had already diverted nations from *her* maritime rapine to a crusade against "*French principles*:" she held the trident of the seas, and resolved to cover them with desolation—a resolution too fatally realized. Why need I relate the horrors that followed, any more than recount the arrogant pretensions which had preceded that epoch of spoliation?—The laws of nations vanished before the dictation of Britain: In March 1793, the English and Russian cabinets arbitrarily prohibited all trade with France in naval stores, corn, grain, salted meat, *or other provisions*!—Still more infamous than this was the *secret order* issued by the English cabinet in November following—by which their cruizers were ordered to capture all vessels laden with the produce of a French colony, or carrying supplies for the use of such colony.—What a pity that there is not a bedlam for ambitious governments!—If the prohibitions of the Grand Alliance in 1689 were abominable as those of Elizabeth had been a century before, (the one levelled at France, the other at Spain) the outrages since the coalition against France have exceeded them all. The violence that supplanted the law, became itself the law: Professional sophistry always stood ready to render its aid, by turning infractions into *precedents*. England had condemned vessels for apparently steering *towards* blockaded ports; and confiscated ships for having salted provisions on board. Pronouncing sentence of condemnation on the Swedish ship *Maria*, Sir William Scott professed sacred regard for the immutable laws of nations; but in the next breath vaults into the *excuse* of *precedent*, as the nature of *that* contest, he said, gave Britain the rights of

war in *as large* a measure as they had been previously exercised at *any* period of modern civilization. When principles of law are thus driven from their moorings, he must be a poor quibbler who cannot steer them whither he pleases.--Admit the introduction of past extravagancies as a rule for present proceedings, and a lawyer's decision is an ingenious jest---but British jests (in the courts of admiralty) have proved rather dear for neutrals.---The unalterable laws of nature, as applied to nations, the British judge evades by a *sarcastic* antithesis, viz:---that the doctrine inculcated by the *new philosophy*, or *philanthropy*, tends to usher in a state of things not before seen in the world, "that of a *military war* and a *commercial peace*."---Arguments of this sort cost little trouble---it is only necessary to subject reason to authority, and it follows passively without farther enquiry. What a simple device for holding *orders*, parties, and nations in leading strings!

The unrestrained transgressions of the strongest have thus been interpolated into the code; the feeble tacitly yielding where resistance was impracticable. Humanity has been banished by little and little from naval warfare. The audacious pretence of yesterday becomes precedent to-day, and law to-morrow. Neutral nations have been in a manner enslaved like a particular people, through want of concerted opposition to the first encroachments.

Practice of search was originally limited to the *port*;---maritime violence has extended it over the ocean;---and British writers have styled it the *right of search*.

It was the law of Europe, that neutral property was safe in an enemy's ship: England has violated that maxim, though she acknowledged it so late as 1753, in the reply to the Prussian manifesto.*

It was also the settled conventional laws of Europe, that the flag protects the cargo (free ships, free goods) England set it at nought, and even engaged the royal parties to the compact of armed neutrality in a league against civil liberty.

Thus she innovated from time to time on the more civilized maxims introduced by the Dutch, French, Germans, Italians and even Spaniards; misemploying her immense power to release herself from the common obligation.---In all her vagaries and deviations we faithfully aped her, excepting only one conspicuous instance.

It was very natural that Frederick II. of Prussia, seeing no prospect of reparation at sea for English spoliation, on his commerce, should sequester the monies due to the British upon Silesia by way of mortgage, when that duchy was ceded by Austria. His manifesto in justification of the measure is a masterly defence of neutral rights.---Britain constantly pursued her career of naval depredations; her law oracles varnishing all her acts by strained *constructions*;---insisting that

* In 1438, it was ordained by the Dutch in their general assembly, that during the war then existing against the Hanse towns, the goods of neutrals should not be good prize when taken in an enemy's ship, provided they put in their claim and proved their property.---Such honesty was there in early usages of many nations until English superiority drove them into disuse; and her admiralty courts executed the orders of the government,---intimating that laws might be modified as wars had become more naval.

every thing was in a state of perpetual gyration, and all depended on occasional interpretation. Their *ethical* system resembles the Cartesian theory of *atoms* floating in aerial *vortices*: all is in endless whirl. The *atomists* are lords of the ascendant: their subtle particles now flow so copiously throughout juridical and political space that our very legislators have caught the disease of precedent from the courts of law. Points and atoms govern supremely: English "authority" has been more pernicious than all her navies and her intrigues: we have chained our destiny to opinions, and turned principles adrift; whereas known principles ought to govern opinions.

Such is the vagueness of maritime law, and the certainty of maritime devastation;† violence must be used against violence. If nations then will not desist from plunder;—if they will not admit a "military war and a *commercial* peace," but mimic England in all her fashions, whims or precedents, they must take the consequences. Brazilian commerce must run its hazard with that of the Oriental republic. In this condition of affairs, it is weakness, it is hypocrisy to decry privateering. Wrong must be retaliated by wrong; desolation by desolation. May the experiment of the *lex talionis* prove restorative of justice!—In this aspect of things it was, that a publicist frankly condemned the "affected delicacy of conscience" which shuddered at the employment of privateers. Public navies and privateers are authorised by the same law: they have the same object: we cannot discriminate between them as weapons of war. It was perfectly ludicrous to hear murmurs against *French* privateers, when the enemy-government had refused to relinquish maritime pillage, and had scoured every sea. "As much then, says he, as these declaimers are censurable, so much are they worthy of praise, who generously expose their lives and fortunes to the danger of privateering.—As they are in a better situation in some respects (says Valin) than the government with its apparatus of formidable fleets, they render an additional service to their country by relieving it from the burden of arming at its own expense, a great number of vessels which without their aid, it would be obliged to fit out as cruisers." (See *maritime law of Europe* by Azuni, part ii. ch. 3.)

So, privateers prosecute a public quarrel at private risk. Love of booty is a common motive. privateers fight for prize-money as navies do. It has not been objected to the *public brunch* of the naval force, that it is degraded by cupidity in fighting for plunder, while an army fights only for duty and *honor*. If privateers have no right to capture individual property, neither have navies.—But the objection unreasonable at present.

You sir, recollect too vividly the scenes of *our* revolution. When the continental congress were straining every nerve at home, and *Franklin* was issuing *their commissions* to naval officers abroad, no man could have

† *Barrere*, who so strenuously recommended a *European pact* for freeing the ocean, beautifully depicted its blessings: "It would cause to be forgotten the crimes and calamities which a century of English policy has spread over the earth."

conceived such absurdity as we are now exposing. No man durst avow sentiments so hostile to an infant nation, and so repugnant to common sense. We were solicitous to obtain the service of enterprising spirits from every clime. The same illustrious sage who had drawn his pen against private plunder, then abetted privateering---zealously abetted it. He saw the necessity of galling the enemy with his own arrows. Britain was harrassed,---the maritime leviathan was annoyed by our sword-fish in every latitude---he bellowed with rage---his angry foam was mixed with that of the ocean---he *ungenerously* tried to intimidate the feeble states of Denmark and Holland. He carried his mean effrontery so far as to demand capt. PAUL JONES from the Dutch, who were thus required to violate the laws of hospitality---the common right of asylum. Jones was claimed as a *pirate*, though he held the commission of our revolutionary congress---What then were your sensations, and those of your fellow-soldiers and compatriots?—The same Dutch who recalled governor *Van Graaf* from St. Eustatius to pacify the British government, behaved with modest dignity on this occasion: they firmly refused the requisition in a pertinent answer:—*They would not judge, they said, the legality of capt. Jones's conduct; they only afforded him shelter from storms without permitting him to unload his cargoes or sell his prizes.*

Have we not sacrificed amply to neutrality?---Some think that we did too much, as no nation is bound to abridge her *passive commerce* for the accommodation of a belligerent,---especially an unprovoked aggressor warring on liberty. Both parties receive asylum in our ports; both may repair their sea-beaten ships, and receive provisions.---As in the former instance, it was entirely in the power of England to parry privateering thrusts, by acknowledging our independence, so in the present, *His Most Faithful Majesty* holds the remedy in his own hand. Let him retreat from an unjustifiable war.---His murmurs at unequal hospitality must be a diplomatic joke.---I know that the patriot governments consider the *detention* of their vessels in our ports as a sensible grievance. Their causes have been hung up for months and months in our courts under *libel*, &c. the Spanish agents playing off a *ruse de guerre* under color of reclamations. Our lawyers and officers have been at the service of the Spanish and Portuguese consuls,---while the patriots had no friend---in court.

The Banda Oriental has no legitimate right to wage a naval war,---according to the Secretary's logick (if I understand it,) because she "has neither ships nor seamen, nor even ports."---I believe that this *caveat* is as distant from reason and law, as *Pepe* from *Daddy*. Suppose for argument's sake, that the joint power and artifice of *Puerreydon* and *king John*, had snatched all the ports, anchorages, and roadsteads from the Oriental republic, (impossible as the undertaking is) would that disaster deprive her also of the right to recover them? Were our rights, think you, diminished during the late war, because British squadrons held possession of the Chesapeake Bay? Did they not rather widen, if possible, with the emergency?—If by their superior navy the British had occupied *all* our sea ports, would we have been likewise deprived of the right to dislodge them? if we have no seamen,

ought we not to hire them? if no ships, ought we not build or purchase them? or employ foreign officers and crews willing to hoist our flag and fight in our cause? If no ports, the more pressing the necessity of retaking them. What sort of right is that which most fails us when most wanted? In verity we might say of such a phantasm what your favorite does of paper-money, or stocks: "Paper-stock always promises to defend a nation, and always flees from danger."—It is a vaunted cheat. If our author's logick be genuine, ye halt and decrepid, cast down your crutches; none but the robust are entitled to their support!—Ye dim-sighted book-worms, pluck off your spectacles,—the lynx-eyed alone have a right to their superfluous aid. Avaunt ye penny-less wretches, you have no claim to the bounty of benevolence; go, despair and die—the benefit of alms is reserved to the opulent. "To him that hath, much shall be given, and he shall have abundance; but from him that hath not, shall be taken even that which he hath."—And you, brave, shrewd, revered, patriarchal, state-ly,—"*Daddy*" ARTIGAS, you have no maritime rights, though the finest rivers flow through your vales, and the sublimest cataracts dash from your mountains; though nature has given you so many canals that you want no artificial ones,—though the ocean and bay embrace two sides of your enviable territory, and numberless rivers intersect the whole, your image, or that of your trusty *Llaneros* must never be reflected from their even surface—those watery mirrors belong to the toilet of king John, and all your rights are concentrated in his diadem.

What jurist ever conceived grades of rights among nations?—In peace or in war they are relatively the same. The youngest is equal with the oldest, the weakest with the strongest. Their equality in the eye of the law is complete. To argue that a man has no right to procure food or refreshment, when accident or violence deprives him of both, is to decide that he is debarred from eating when hungry, and from drinking when dry.—Necessity, heretofore deemed law-paramount, is now rejected: B's doctrine is, that *rights recede as exigency approaches*. "I question much whether Artigas has half a dozen seamen," and consequently above as many rights—or rather none at all. JUVENAL never thought of depreciating the rights of virtuous men, when he was moralizing on their small proportion to the vicious:—From their paucity they seemed more precious in *his* sight!

Rari quippe boni: numero vix sunt totidem, quot
Thebarum portæ vel divitis ostia Nili:*

All the world will argue contrariwise from the Secretary. If Artigas have few sailors, he should augment them: if his army decline, recruit it; if his treasury fail, replenish it; if his ammunition be spent, replace it. Whatever is exhaustible is also renewable.

Finally, as a practical difference exists with regard to property, our argute disputant appears to transfer it by a forced parity to *persons*: he concludes no doubt, that it is admissible to subsidize *soldiers* but

* The good are few; their number's scarce at par
With the gates of Thebes, or mouths of fruitful Nile.

not *sailors*. If he means not this, he argues still more absurdly, that we cannot repair the mischances of war, and that losses are necessarily irretrievable!--Was ever such a strange quiddity gravely obtruded on the people?

Here, sir, we may take our leave of a *topic* worn threadbare. Though never disposed "to treat a friend's *amusements* with neglect," I should deprecate putting his *patience* to a severer trial. With a few concise reflections I hasten to the close. What I have said cannot be mis-timed, if it contribute in the slightest degree to stem the torrent of delusion that is rolling over the land.—It was artfully excited and eagerly fomented—It must be firmly repelled.

If we sell vessels to Spaniards, we dispose of them likewise to patriots, and stand acquitted of partiality. It is a fair commerce. With respect to our seamen, none can reasonably murmur; when unemployed at home they adventure abroad; for the seaman's "home is on the deep." English sailors are equally erratic. English seamen and some Americans enabled commodore Brown in 1814 to beat the Spanish squadron before *Montevideo*; a victory that led to the capture of that city. British sailors enter the service of Venezuela, of Buenos Ayres and Chili; admiral Cochrane's squadron is almost wholly British.—So some of our sailors have emigrated to South-America, and shipped on board of patriot privateers. This is not the greatest of evils—if indeed it be an improper act at all.—The Spanish marine is open to them also, as our bays are open to the Spanish fleet.—Do they prefer the patriot service? It is natural. We must not blame their choice, unless we resolve to become forgetful, ungrateful, unnatural, and unwise. Let us remember the succor we received "in our utmost need." All we are bound to perform is to execute the laws and prevent improper outfitts in our territory.—To interdict our seamen from emigration is impossible; and it were unlawful if practicable: nay more, it would increase present calamities: There are but too many complaints of *piracy*. Would we drive seamen to piracy by restraining privateers; I mean lawful, regular privateers? *Governments are answerable for the distress they occasion to any productive class of THE COMMUNITY.* Why is the most villainous of all traffic now so fatally brisk? Why are hundreds, perhaps thousands of American and English sailors engaged in the accursed, nefarious, facinorous, damnable, infernal *slave trade*? Why! but because they were starving; and urged by want to man kidnapping fleets? *Brazil* and *Cuba* are openly receiving a ceaseless current of wretched Africans; and *I have reason to believe*, that an *immense number* of slaves are smuggled into *several* of the West India islands,—prohibitions notwithstanding. *Twenty-one* vessels are commonly engaged in the trade of manstealing out of the poor barren island of *St. Thomas*. Where do they sell their cargoes?—Ill-judged measures to restrain immorality always promote it. So it will be in this case. A gentleman of much experience in a sister city lately observed, that a puritannical restriction on the manly and elegant amusement of skating on Sundays &c. tempted many into grogshops, or a private indulgence of tippling ---Annihilate pirates and slave-dealers, if possible ---they do not deserve to live.---With the independence of all Spanish-

America, now near at hand, the privateers may furl their sails---their vocation will be gone.---To have been consistent with himself, our "Secretary" ought to have censured com. Brown and his English sailors for beating the Spaniards before Montevideo: for, if *Buenos-Ayres* might legitimately enlist *English* sailors there, why may not *Artigas* naturalize *American* tars at Santa Lucia or Maldonado?---He has not denounced the British government for *buying Hessians* to fight yourself and your comrades; and that is the reason perhaps of his pardoning the revolutionary congress for accepting the voluntary aid of French seamen and soldiers.---God knows, what would be our condition without them! I am sorry, my friend, that the saving examples of that day have slipped from the memory of our pert scribblers, whose pates are so stuffed with British law-precedents that there is no room left for sober reason.

We ought not to forget the circumstances inseparable from the general pacification of Europe and North America---the ships laid up,---the sailors turned adrift. Looking to causes, we would regard the needy tar with sympathy---perhaps we should as often be obliged to condole with unfortunate victims, as to rail at culprits, if we moderate our blind rage, and reflect impartially. Be kind to the gallant tar in peace who was loyal to us in war.---

I deeply regret this clamor for another reason: it distracts popular attention from the lamentable progress of anti-republican institutions in the United States; institutions which, in form of banks and funds are cancer-like corroding the vitals of the republic,---while the people are gradually familiarized to the pest that must destroy civil liberty---if the usurpation be not checked. *Incorporations, stock and patronage*, infallibly transform a free government into an aristocracy, the worst of all systems. They transfer the reins of power to an interested party, always at variance with the public interest; they corrupt elections; they give the controul of the majority, the country and its fortunes to a minority. And we behold the erection of such a deadly system, with indifference,---when we ought to resolve to-day that the edifice shall be demolished before to-morrow.---If we hesitate at this precious moment to put our better destiny beyond the reach of chance, fallibility, or depravity, the occasion may never recur.---Preposterous custom acquires force from the indolence of mankind. We speedily learn to tolerate what we hated at first sight; and the quaint quibble of to-day, becomes in time a venerable relic. Forced analogy and false respect for sophistical jargon are leading the republic to its grave.---Manly thinking is going rapidly out of date; for the reign of the sophists is established.---The cabala of a *venal order* is the object of popular reverence.---Laws are nothing, interpretation every thing; a dictionary of obscurity is the standard of authority---like the grand Lama, most adored when most involved in darkness. Thus the torture of a *conjunction* and *two prepositions* was made the instrument of the "civil extinction" of the illustrious HORNE TOOKE. "For mankind in general are not sufficiently aware, that words without meaning, or of equivocal meaning, are the everlasting engines of fraud and injustice: and that the GRIMGRIBBER of Westminster-hall is a more fertile, and a much more formidable source of imposture than the ABRACADABRA of magicians." (See

Diversions of Purley, vol. I. page 61, 62.) I speak not against the Ciceros of the profession, a few of whom appear in an age; but against the pernicious principles of the profession itself, and the idolatrous homage paid to dicta in form of juridical doctrines, some of which are worthy only of contempt or laughter.—It is the progress of this influence I dread as fatal to the republic; the order being ever ready to league with corruption or parties as they happen to be engendered in a state.—Has old age so withered my faculties that I am labouring under an illusion?—Is not our inheritance already partitioned out among invaders? Have not bankers and brokers taken one half, and the pettifoggers the other? We are losing our relish for equity and republicanism every day.—The very sapient legislature of this great state has just adopted a grave resolution, not for extending rights but slavery.—You will judge impartially.

Having prostrated the Secretary on his own testimony and his own argument, it remains to view the extent, situation, principal rivers and ports, of Entre Rios and the Banda Oriental. Their geographical position, climate and fertility are so accurately described in BLAND'S Report on Buenos-Ayres, (in pages 11, 15, 16, 25 and 26,) that to you or any attentive reader, it is almost superfluous to say a word on the subject.—The Secretary must have presupposed total ignorance or entire indifference in the public when he ventured (for a daring undertaking it was) to publish his book.

You will please to open Faden's edition of D'Arcy's elegant map 2d edition corrected in 1817. You may peruse it with the same delight that we do a painting of any beautiful object. Eastward of the river Uruguay, and north of the bay of La Plata lies the Banda Oriental, a territory hardly surpassed in conveniency of scite or beauty of scenery on the globe. It is washed on its western side by the great river Uruguay, into which disemboque numerous refreshing streams arising in the mountainous spaces to the eastward. Taking in the *whole territory eastward of the Paraguay*, and south or south east of the Parana,—casting your eye from the northern limit on the river *Iguacu*, about 26 deg. 20 min. south latitude, to *Punta del Este* in 35 deg. and traversing the line of demarcation with Brazil, from the landmark on the Atlantic margin, north of the Invernada de *San Felix Jose* to the confluence of the river San Antonio with the *Iguacu*; you will pause to admire an incomparable area of 146,170 square miles.* This tract is unsurpassed for advantage of soil and inland navigation. In fact its

*I omit the remnant of *territory* belonging to Santa Fe, as traced in Bland's Report, page 16—as not necessary in this enquiry. It probably amounts to 50,000 square miles: both provinces: including the jurisdiction of Corrientes, the seat of the Guarani missions, &c. contain, according to Mr. Bland, 190,500 square miles. The Banda Oriental has an extent of 86,000.—Eastward of the Paraguay there are 93,548,800 acres; which, divided into farms of 100 acres, would support 935,488 families; supposing 5 persons to each family, we find it capable of supporting a population of 4,677,440 souls.—Estimating the capabilities it affords for commercial cities, this superficies may one day or other contain eight millions of inhabitants.

masters will command all navigation in that quarter, for all the rivers of note pour their tribute into the Uruguay or Paraguay. Whoever controuls these, controuls all the others. From the northeast the Paraguay receives the vast volume of the Parana—from the north west, on its right bank, the Pilcomayo, Rio Grande, Vermejo; and Rio Salado, successively—omitting less considerable streams though navigable.

If these provinces be so enviable from their fertility and other natural advantages as to have occasioned frequent wars between Portugal and Spain, (the former holding the post of Colonia del Sacramento for above two hundred years,) the Banda Oriental is relatively as desirable on account of its ports. I say relatively, as there are no very good ports on the La Plata; the most tolerable are on its northern shore, if we may *after* Maldonado except *Ensenada de Barragan*, the only harbour on the bay, in possession of Buenos-Ayres. It is 12 leagues below the city; an open anchorage off Buenos Ayres itself does not deserve the name of harbour. Access to *Buenos-Ayres* is impeded by a bank, (*Banco de la Ciudad**) which has only one fathom depth on its inner edge.—Ranging along the northern shore, from cape Santa Maria, we find to the west of the projecting point at Maldonado, 6 and 7 fathoms; but the cove is much obstructed by a sand bank. Abreast of Montevideo (or San Felipe,) is a clear roadstead, with four fathoms water.† Apparently the most eligible position for an harbour on the bay is a little to the westward of Montevideo, a natural cove being formed by the indentation of the land at *Santa Lucia*.—It was formerly remarked by the Abbe Raynal as the best haven. Impediments have accumulated on its east side; but they are easily cleared. Vessels of light draught have free ingress and egress, and may chuse an anchorage in 2, 2½, and 3 fathoms. This place as well as Maldonado is possessed by the Orientals. *Colonia del Sacramento*, nearly opposite Buenos-Ayres, has an anchorage of 5 and 6 fathoms, above the Baxo de Pescadores (or fishers' shoals,) and three between those shallows and *Punta de los Artilleros*. There are several anchorages along shore between the places named. Passing up the river and north of the island of Martin Garcia, we may anchor in three or four fathoms, and abreast of Punta Carretas, 6 and 7. Ascending the Uruguay about 50 miles north of this, we encounter the embouchure of the *Rio Negro*, having rolled its charming course from the mountains to the N. E. About 80 miles directly above the mouth stands the town of *Purificacion*, the present capital of the Banda Oriental. §It is situate on the left, or southern bank, a few miles below the entrance of the little river Perdido (or Grande.) The selection of this spot shows correct judgment, either

*Literally, the city-bank; and like other privileged banks, an *impediment*.

†The harbour of Montevideo, (says captain Heywood) is very shoal; having only from 14 to 19 feet water, but the bottom is so very soft that vessels receive no damage by grounding there. A south south west wind, according to Azara, raises a tremendous surf, and sometimes drives vessels ashore, as it blows directly into the harbour.

§ Without estimating the windings, a gentleman acquainted with the country, has pointed out its position to me.

for commercial or military purposes. It is neither too far from commerce, nor too near a blockading squadron. The example of former wars taught its founder, that the Spaniards by founding a city at *Montevideo*, threw a force very readily in rear of the Portuguese at *Colonia*. He keeps up his communication with the rugged country to the east and north east, or darts upon the plain when invited by the scent of game; while the commerce of the *Uruguay* and *La Plata*, takes off hides and produce, and brings in return munitions of war. But these he principally receives at Maldonado.—Can the Portuguese insulate a chieftain like this? Not without feeling a shock in the attempt.

It is not the purpose of this sketch to repeat the dangers of navigating the *La Plata*. *English Bank*, *Bank of Cortez*, &c. are noted in every chart. Sands, tides, and winds, render it perilous to mariners. Captain Heywood's Instructions are deemed valuable. The chart before me, constructed by the late Mr. *Bernard*, (and inscribed to general *Samuel Smith*.) does not correspond *entirely* with Heywood's description. Depth sometimes varies at different points with winds, &c.

Vessels of 300 tons can navigate the *Paraguay* to *Corrientes*, about 700 miles above *Buenos-Ayres*; of course with entire facility to *Santa Fe*, distant only 300. The fact is incidentally stated in a manuscript memoir on the advantages of encouraging the cultivation of *coffee* in the jurisdiction of *Corrientes*, written by a distinguished citizen of *Buenos-Ayres*. (See also *Bland's Report*, pages 33, 34.)

Until the middle of the last century, *Ensenada de Barragan* was the regular naval station for the Spanish frigates, as well as a port for merchantmen. The *Buenos-Ayreans* contend that it is more commodious than *Montevideo*, and confidently cite *Azara's* voyages in proof of it. This city was founded by the Spanish government, not, (as *Raynal* asserts,) because *Ensenada* was unsuitable as a port, but to curb more effectually the encroachments of the Portuguese. Don M. Moreno affirms that *Montevideo* obtained many privileges injurious to other towns. It became the naval depot of the government, and a station for government-ships &c. The spirit of monopoly spread from the cabinet of Spain through all classes in the state: Spanish statesmen had not judgment sufficient to promote the interests of one set of subjects without the ruin of another. (See *Vida &c. De Moreno*, page 286 *et seq.*) *Buenos-Ayres* beheld the rise of *Montevideo* with an invidious eye; but with little reason, if she herself could have been satisfied with an enormous monopoly. This account of its ports does not wholly explain the Portuguese invasion of the *Banda Oriental*, however attractive they are *

ENTIRE LIST OF PORTS AND SITUATION

Ports.—Maldonado, *Montevideo*, *Santa Lucia*, *Colonia*, *Ensenada*, *Capilla Nueva*, *Arroyo de la China*, *Purificacion*, *Santa Fe*, *Corrientes*, *Balisas de Buenos-Ayres*, *Patagones*, *Bahia de San Gregorio*, *Puerto Deseado*, and *Cobija*, on the *Pacific*.

Of these the following belong to the *Banda Oriental*.—Maldonado, *Montevideo*, *Santa Lucia*, *Colonia*, *Capilla-Nueva*, *Arroyo de la China*, and *Purificacion*.

"The soil of the *Banda Oriental*," says Bland, "is uncommonly productive, and well adapted to all kinds of grain: of which it can easily be made to yield a most liberal return. Its surface is very waving; and every where abundantly irrigated with never-failing springs and streams of the purest water.—There are some great spaces destitute of timber, particularly along the coast of La Plata, toward the Portuguese settlement of Río Grande de San Pedro. Groves of fine timber, more than sufficient for all its necessary probable wants, are however scattered over its whole extent; and its more northern extremity is, for the most part, an entire forest. There has no quality yet been discovered in its generous soil which indicates the least unkindness to any vegetable growth. There are no bogs, swamps, or lakes to be found in any part of it; and its climate throughout is remarkably salubrious. In short, buxom nature frolics over this beautiful scene, and with an open hand bestows every where health, variety, gaiety and fecundity. The Banda Oriental has however hitherto been applied to no other purpose than pasturage, and the rearing of cattle, mules and horses."

"The country properly called the *Entre Rios*, is, in most particulars, similar to the Banda Oriental; it is very fertile, and is furnished with an abundance of timber."

A natural boundary, the Uruguay and La Plata, fruitful soil, good climate and various ports, are tempting objects to *H. M. F. Majesty*.—It was to wrest this admirable territory (the key of the rest) from the hands of the Portuguese, that the Spaniards carried on such obstinate wars against them. The warlike character of the Spanish colonists is noted from the earliest epoch of their settlement. This martial genius supplied a volunteer army, and gave at length a decided preponderance to Spain. The treaty of Ildefonso was to settle territorial boundaries forever.—The people who had frustrated so many invasions at their own expense and by their own intrepidity; who had defended their frontier against the independent Querandis,† who curbed the audacity of Cavendish and other English corsairs; who drove back the Dutch in 1628; who had defeated the attempts of the French in 1698, and of the Danes in the following year; who expelled the French from their colonial es-

In possession of Artigas or his associates.—Santa Lucía, Capilla Nueva, Arroyo de la China, Purificacion, Santa Fe, and Corrientes.—6 free ports.

Maldonado harbor is formed by the island Gorriti and the mainland. The Portuguese hold the island; the Orientals occupy terra firma

In the river Plata.—Maldonado, Montevideo, Santa Lucia, and Colonia.

On the Uruguay and Rio Negro.—Capilla Nueva, Arroyo de la China, Purificacion.

On the Parana.*—Santa Fe and Corrientes.

*Called *Paraguay*, on the English maps; the Parana bearing its name no farther than its confluence with the Paraguay.—It sometimes confounds foreigners; as if we were to give the name of Missouri to the Mississippi from its junction, confining the title of Mississippi to all the space from thence upward to its source.

†The Querandis Indians had never been subjected to the Incas—but were utterly exterminated by the Spaniards.

establishment at cape Santa Maria in 1777; the same people, I say, after three sanguinary wars, had conquered *Colonia* from the Portuguese, and earned a reputation of which they may justly vaunt; whence comes it, that they now look tamely on the inroads of the same Portuguese; or co-operate with them to subjugate the *republicans* of the Banda Oriental and Santa-Fe?—(See, *La Vida y Memorias del Dr. Don Mariano Moreno*, page 92-93.)—The Brazilians should remember, says this author, (page 277) that in the year 1776, our troops held possession of Rio Grande and the town of San Pedro, extending their domination a hundred and thirty leagues within the territory of Brazil; that Buenos-Ayres has often triumphed by her own resources; that she has just destroyed before their eyes, an English expedition of 11,000 men, who, if directed against Brazil, could have conquered it; they should remember that the strength of our population does not consist of wretched slaves and stupid Indians.—As if its contact with us by a frontier line of more than five hundred leagues were not enough to produce collision,—as if its vast territory were not sufficient to satisfy its thirst for ruling wilderness, *the court of Brazil had cast its covetous eyes towards the coasts of La Plata, and striven for a long course of years to occupy wholly or partially, the delicious country on its northern banks.**

It was about the meridian of her successes against the Portuguese that La Plata was erected into a viceroyalty,—having been previously dependent on the government of Paraguay, and on the viceroy of Lima, the supreme authority acknowledged from Panama to Magellan. (See Funes's History tom. III. ch. 12, lib. v.)

The enlightened author who furnishes so much information on the colonial state and revolution of Buenos-Ayres speaks with patriotic resentment of the Portuguese invasion.—Their king had ruined his own colony by a sordid policy; had fled from Portugal and taken refuge in Brazil; he had not brought any accession of funds or forces with him, yet he is hardly landed on this continent when he mimics the conduct of Buonaparte,† whose abilities or power he is far from possessing.

It seems extraordinary that the government should leave these fine territories exposed to the armies of Brazil,—and more extraordinary that it should unite in the war against them. The high-spirited people who shed tears of rage and mortification when they saw the British

*The king of Brazil has not fulfilled the prediction of an enthusiastic writer:—"He cannot fail to become *entirely American*, and anti-European as soon as he has become extra-European."—Geographical distinctions are imperceptible and futile, compared with the impressions of moral and political tuition.—What is it to us, or to his vassals, that he has crossed the *Atlantic*, since he has brought his kingly principles with him?—It was *at his court* the scheme of a dynasty for La Plata was hatched, should a branch of the old one not be transplanted thither.—*At his court* was fixed the fulcrum of that lever which pulled down the new Temple of Liberty in Buenos-Ayres.—Our "Secretary" not only passes these things by, but writes panegyrics on the "men in power"—on the upstarts who snatched the government from republican hands.

†It will be recollected that this work was published in London, in 1812.

troops march into the Plaza, how can they unsheath their swords against the gallant champions of the Oriental Banda? Are the purposes of the revolution changed? Have they disappeared with the illustrious leaders who began a system of amelioration so auspiciously in 1810?—No alternative is left to the Orientalists but extirpation or subjugation. They must pass under the yoke of Brazil or of Buenos-Ayres! We know the resolution—to maintain their equal rights or perish in their defence.

Passing over the pretensions of the queen of Brazil in 1810, 11, 12 &c.; the intrigues at Rio Janeiro, and the correspondence with certain characters at Buenos-Ayres and Montevideo; overlooking for the present the brave achievements of the Orientals, first against the Spaniards, and next against the coalition,—it strikes us as a remarkable coincidence, that the last Brazilian invasion correspond with the ascendancy of the present party in Buenos-Ayres.—*Puerreydon* had been banished (but not without trial) to Punta San Luis, for his connexions with the Portuguese, at whose court he had been an agent—was recalled from exile and promoted by the influence of *Alvear*, who was soon after denounced as a traitor.—*Puerreydon* becomes Supreme Director,---carries on the system with a bolder hand; and exiles or dispatches every man who refuses compliance with his behests. The congress (so called!) had been shuffled, cut and packed as he pleased.

While a monarchy was in agitation at Buenos-Ayres, it might have been agreed that Brazil should be a neutral spectator, unless Artigas and his stubborn, uncomplaisant gauchos spurned the measure---Then these should be surrendered as malefactors to be crucified by the Brazilians; Buenos-Ayres to furnish her contingent to enforce the contract.—To perpetuate the spirit of monopoly under the new government, the Portuguese could have engaged on their part to prevent rivals from starting up in the *Banda Oriental*, whilst *Buenos-Ayres* was to subdue *Entre Rios*, coerce *Santa-Fe*, secure the navigation of the Paraguay, and command the commercial scites on its banks, or those of its tributary waters.

Monopolists would readily support royalists: they recollected that *Ensenada* declined after the erection of Montevideo: might it not therefore be convenient to disenable all the towns on the North of La Plata from emulating Buenos-Ayres? What means more effectual than giving them into the safe-keeping of a despot? Where men are degraded, the arts must decay—Commerce and freedom expire together. At worst—*If Artigas should not be annihilated by the arms of the coalition, the Portuguese would engage his attention during the conquest of CHILI and PERU by the troops and fleet of La Plata &c.* Thus ambition trades with avarice in the government of nations; and the happiness of the million is bartered away for the aggrandisement of the few.

If Montevideo drew the petty patronage of the Spanish fleet from the opposite side of the bay, *Buenos-Ayres* enjoyed more solid privileges: Some of these will impress us with wonder. La Plata having been the outer commercial door to the kingdom of Peru, merchants rather choosing that entrance than doubling Cape Horn, Buenos-Ayres was the centre of an extensive commerce inward and outward. Three

hundred merchant vessels annually sought its ports. Merchandize to the amount of *eighteen millions*, for the consumption of Peru, passed chiefly through this channel. The major part of the herb of Paraguay was deposited in her warehouses before distribution through the provinces;* and, to finish the climax of monopoly, she had the exclusive right of furnishing negro slaves for all that part of America.† Chili and Peru received most of those unfortunate beings by that route; but, the vessels engaged in this inhuman traffic, were more recently obliged to enter the *Rio Negro* an important and beautiful river, which disembogues into the Atlantic in lat 41 South. This, you recollect, is one of the proposed points of communication between the two seas. The country around is inhabited by Indians.

Too much of the old leaven entered into the new government: capitalism, or the towering ambition of *Buenos-Ayres*, has prevented the fruition of the most natural and equitable benefits, which ought to have been consequences of the revolution.—This glorious event was effected in La Plata with little commotion; in *Chili without spilling blood*: but the great founders were soon thwarted, and honest purposes defeated by selfish plots.—When Buenos-Ayres laudably turned its attention to the *Ensenada*, to *Colorado*, and the *Rio Negro*, (of the *South*, &c.) her rooted love of monopoly on whose lap she had been so affectionately dandled, seduced her into the sordid policy of paralyzing the natural advantages of other cities and provinces. She made war on Cordova—on Santa-Fe, on Paraguay, on the Oriental Banda,—on Chili (*in effect*), whosoever dissented from becoming her commercial subjects, must be her enemies. Many of them she has reduced to political dependence. Hence, the unhappy feuds which stain the 'scutcheon of the *martial people* of La Plata, derive their origin from avarice and ambition.—It is a curious fact which cannot elude your penetration, that the Portuguese (exclusive of the secret compact) have furthered her domineering views on one side, and the Spaniards on the other: those leave Artigas no alternative in the Banda; these equally destroy alternative in Chili. Still keeping possession of the fastnesses of this lovely country,—the island of Chiloe, Talcubana (or Concep) cion) &c. &c. the key to the Pacific and the Gibraltar of the land, the honest Chilians have no option between obeying Buenos-Ayrean or Spanish masters. The heroes who had planned the recapture of Chiloe and Talcubana, were denounced, imprisoned, assassinated.—Lest remorse should enter guilty bosoms, our *conscientious* "Secretary" writes glozing apologies for their crimes—justifies usurpation, paints hideous deformity with an angelic mien, scoffs at republicans as Jacobins, and patriots, as demagogues—misrepresents the known institutions of the country—and decorates his idols in a full suit of the "heroic virtues."

* A most grievous hardship, to compel cultivators and merchants to transport *matte* to the distance of 12 or 1500 miles, to be thence retailed for *Lima*, *Chili*, or to the consumers of that article scattered intermediately to the W. and N. W.

† See Moreno's Memoirs, p. 87.

Another illustrative instance may arrest attention:—mark it:

The “Secretary” confesses that “previous to the revolution, the produce of Tucuman had begun to be transported down the Vermejo:” (p. 82, v. II.) And, wherefore does it not continue to follow the path explored by that enterprising citizen of Salta, col. Cornejo, so justly extolled in the *Mercurio Peruano* of May 19, 1791?—Let the conduct of Buenos-Ayres answer the question. She has deprived affrighted commerce of the advantages of Cornejo’s “fluvial voyage.” Under the patronage of Josephine, the lady of Arredondo, viceroy of La Plata, with a couple of canoes and a small xebec, “he arrived after a navigation of 44 days at the junction of the *Bermejo* with the *Paraguay*, 24 leagues North of the city of *Las Corrientes*, having sailed 382 leagues without meeting the smallest obstruction.” Here was discovered an immense saving of time and labor, in transporting by water the productions theretofore carried by mules;—promising a grand accession to the commerce of Tucuman and Peru with Paraguay, and eventually with Buenos-Ayres. It would connect the traffic of Assumption &c. &c. with that of La Plata: but, Buenos-Ayres determined to enslave all, and monopolize every thing. Paraguay very fortunately refused to exchange Spanish for Buenos-Ayrean fetters.* But, a faithful narration of this affair would have defeated the imposture which the “Secretary” endeavors so smoothly to effect, at p. 27. He there tells us, that the Banda Oriental might have united with Buenos-Ayres “upon the same terms with the other provinces.” What were those *terms*, those *equitable conditions*? The question involves an absurdity; because Buenos-Ayres required implicit *unconditional* submission to her dictation.—As in the conquests of old Rome, the quæstors, prætors, and proconsuls used to take the reins of the colony, so the military cabal of La Plata sent out their governors to occupy conquered districts—Montevideo was occupied in this way as soon as it capitulated: Buenos-Ayres seized the government, without consulting the gallant citizens and soldiers of the Banda, who had co-operated in the siege, and whose right it was to have governed themselves as a co-state. No choice was left them but to obey or be proscribed. And, the conspirators against civil liberty had the effrontery to upbraid equal citizens as schismatics,—aye, and to proclaim their chiefs as traitors!!! On the same plan of subjugation, Puerreydon was formerly dispatched to rule Cordova, and subsequently (*with the army*) to govern Charcas, if he could then have taken it.

*In opposition to the acknowledged fact of this government’s spreading offensive wars into every province, our “Secretary” says, page 179, vol II. “It must be recollected that these people are at war for their existence!”—The city exhibits a great proportion of soldiery, drums continually beating, trumpets braying, and troops every where in motion. There are several extensive barracks distributed through the city, filled chiefly with black troops.” *ib.* Was it a war for “existence” that produced the invasion of Entre Rios and all the wanton stratagems to circumvent their neighbours, to seduce Artigas’s troops,—to attempt his assassination by fifty various contrivances?

It results from all these assumptions and atrocities, that the despotic government of La Plata has become *worse* (if possible,) than that of Spain; *because Buenos-Ayres tyrannizes in the name of independence*; and, associating barbarous havoc, domination and plunder with the name of freedom, must bring odium on the term; they will disgust the ignorant with that which is only known by abuses.—*How interesting in this aspect if things appears the opposition of general Artigas!* His hostility is the only hope of liberty. If he can maintain himself against the hosts and frauds of Buenos-Ayres, some favourable conjuncture may enable the people elsewhere to throw off the yoke. He seems the only rallying point for the friends of freedom. The Buenos-Ayrean cabal having imbrued their hands in innocent blood, and begun their career of usurpation by the extinction of republican leaders, will not relinquish their purpose, while the agents of a foreign government countenance their crimes. Their bond of union is cemented by self-interest, avarice, ambition and murder.—And yet that cabal can procure an *apologist* in these United States! Assassination finds tolerance! What a stigma on our country!

Some little truth has inadvertently fallen from the "Secretary's" pen, page 245, vol. II. "that Buenos-Ayres did not abuse the advantages she possessed, is scarcely to be believed, because it would not be human nature.—One of the strongest inducements held out to the provinces to acknowledge the junta, was the promise of convening a congress of deputies, so that every part of the viceroyalty might share in the government; a *promise which, there is every reason to believe, was not as faithfully complied with, as it might have been.*—There may be reasons for and against, *which I do not feel inclined to weigh!*" Why not?—I will answer for this *bashful* man: because it would expose plots and despotism.

P. 246. "It would require *another* volume to complete what I have to say on South-America. I have been compelled to leave a great part of my materials unemployed. It is possible that I may prepare them for some periodical work."

It is also possible, that this olio, this *spurious* compound of left-handed politicks, statistics, geography and history, may put a period to his work.—If his limits were narrow, why spend so much pen, ink, paper, time, space and fabrication in calumniating republicans—and republicanism? He will find that he has too much luggage.—Bad authors and retreating armies have sometimes to abandon their baggage.

It is not a little remarkable, that our *Secretary* surpasses in abusive asperity the declared Buenos-Ayrean enemies of *Artigas*, personal and political: The author of "El Protector Nominal," an officer of the government, brands him with all the reproach imaginable,—unpacks his magazine of scandalous epithets, arraigns his vituperable and "antisocial doctrine," deplores his "fatal ascendancy,"—upbraids him with his "sarracenism" or Turkish despotism, while he pretends to be the *Protector* of a free people. Although this writer raises a hue and cry against the ambition of Artigas, and declares that he propagated seduction in Santa Fe and Cordova, &c. &c. had *volcanized* (i. e. inflamed) the popular mind in these districts; although he calls him,—

"monster, patriarch, false apostle of liberty,—impostor,—pretended reformer,—rebel, traitor, deserter, new Attila---ravenous and bloody wolf, --novel legislator, new fangled politician, tyrant, Vandal," &c. &c. and opens the very floodgates of obloquy and ribaldry at page 45: although he affirms that general Artigas has "demoralized public opinion by his doctrines," and he is seconded by the Censor of Buenos-Ayres, of June, 1818, which pronounces him "a *Minotaur*, whom we cannot assign to any class in nature or zoology," yet there is detersion in the superlative character of their abuse.—And having seen their polished legions foiled by the unpolite gauchos, the creature of the Buenos-Ayrian government was obliged to admit some traits of heroism into his disgusting picture of the "Oriental" chief. Our *Secretary* has copied the *shade* without introducing the *light* of the original: we shall therefore give what he omits.* As it is in the words of an enemy, who thus accounts for the success of an antagonist, you will be at no loss to decide whether the tirade is not a panegyric. I translate from the "Protector Nominal" very closely, the author's view of those *physical* and *moral* causes to which Artigas owes his influence.—

PHYSICAL CAUSES.

"Artigas has been always in campaign. Here is the cause of causes in a single line. Diligence is commonly the parent of good fortune.—The rapidity which has sometimes been observed in his operations, has been the result of that appropriate attitude which he always maintained. War bears a great resemblance to a game of hazard in the characteristic transitoriness of its periods. The gamester who neglects to improve the moment of good luck, generally loses every thing in the turn of bad. Whoever has to strengthen his pretensions must not lose an instant. Activity is commendable in all affairs; but in war, and in great undertakings, it is indispensable. Artigas has been infatigable, whether by temperament or by system, or both. By this he has acquired physical advantages---moral respectability. The soldier who sees his general,—the gang of thieves who behold their leader sharing in just proportion the fatigues of war and hardships of the field, doubly exert themselves to serve the interests of a *comrade* who understands how to recommend himself by means of example. To these are to be added the natural facilities of the Banda Oriental and the territory of Entre Rios,

*In the same uncandid spirit, he *overlooked* the excellent biographical and historical articles said to be written by the respectable colonel POINSETT, on the character and political conduct of the *Carreras*, &c, in Chili.—His long residence there gave that distinguished citizen a complete knowledge of men and measures; he intimately knew the republican virtues and valor of the *Carreras*, and he depicted them it is said, in the Maryland Censor. Afraid of such irrefragable testimony; afraid of the expositions printed in Baltimore by the exiles, he lays them aside, and pursues his calumnious job, as if those veridical works had no existence.—The writings of our gallant PORTER too stared him in the face. The commodore had penetrated the real character of general Carrera with the quickness of intuitive sagacity; and as the *honest* "Secretary" could not "damn by faint praise" a witness of this stamp, he compliments *him* unequivocally—but disregards his "Journal," and slanders the Chilian chief with all the vehemency of malice.

as well as their numerous horse-herds which assure celerity of movement. This is a most powerful mean of waging successful war, especially in spaces of country so immense as ours. Nor must we forget their numberless forests and defiles for shelter in case of adversity. To none is this so easy as to persons who have a practical acquaintance with their entrances, issues, and other circumstances. Finally, we must consider their superabundance of three articles of prime necessity, *beef, water, and wood*, a plenty so much the greater as the population of those countries is scanty. From all this it is not strange that such a conjunction of circumstances has constituted a mass of grand resources, which have enabled Don Jose Artigas to advance his plans, gain some advantages and extend his influence farther than could be expected under a different state of things."

MORAL CAUSES.

(Abstracts &c.) He adopted a system of terrorism in the first place to compel a greater number of families to migrate with him,—after the Buenos-Ayreans raised the first siege of Montevideo. Those who would not accompany him were harrassed by his bands.

"This man's apparent disinterestedness, the simplicity of his apparel, and the identity of his sentiments, customs and manners with most of the people who surround him, enter likewise into the number of moral causes we are analyzing.* Mankind are much pleased with these relations of mutual similarity. It operates more powerfully when they exist between the superior and the subordinate. The affections which are formed from the result of this analogy are generally most durable because the most natural. On the other hand, all the marches of Artigas's adherents have proceeded from a single point, from one sole direction—his own will. An origin so exclusive reconciles all.—A secret is impenetrable: the course of operations rapid. Much is done and little said. There is no alteration of plans, because there are no changes of administration, and he always meliorates the permanent concentration of power, though the hands that manage the reins of government are not the most dextrous. But this is not all. Artigas has always had a favorite spring to set in motion for the attainment of his purposes—fomenting hatred against Buenos-Ayres. This capital as

*During the second siege of Montevideo he was dining one day in his quarters of the Three Crosses with several officers of his division, and some from the army of the line, who had marched from this capital. He is notified that a countryman was inquiring for him. He makes him come in, and as soon as he sees him, turns his back on the table, places one leg over another, and quitting the decent posture in which he was eating, takes a lump of meat in both hands and in this situation treats of business with the good countryman. The latter would no doubt depart highly captivated at seeing that general Artigas remained with his hands full of grease.—Such is the miserable finesse of the modern *sage!!!*"

Admitting the authenticity of this characteristic anecdote, it shows that Artigas does not postpone business to etiquette. As a military man, he would be culpable if he should. As he was not "prinked up" like a fopling, his primitive mode of *feeding*, would not dishonour the *patriarch*.—Greasy hands are better than bloody ones! It is enough that they be morally clean.

directress of plans for consolidating the political emancipation of the United provinces would have many rivals among narrow minds, exalted with false ideas of civil liberty. Artigas has artfully excited these jealousies." [Has he indeed?] p. 26 to 31. "Lastly, the condition of many of Artigas's followers ought to be kept in view. The greater number of those who move in his neighborhood are men of no estate or property. Some of them for years back infested the Banda Oriental with their crimes. All those live in disorder, and overpower the class of proprietors, and worthy gentlemen of that precious territory, who deplore in silence the misfortunes of their country."

It appears that *mister* Artigas is a saucy, stubborn fellow. Though the government of Spain and Buenos-Ayres vied with each other in promoting him in the army, he would not accept an office from either: he uncivilly refused the deputy-governorship of Yapegu with a salary of 3000 dollars and a military command annexed. (p. 11, 12) He was given to *rash projects*, which displeased Rondeau:—his intrepidity is owing to his ignorance—"La impavidez siempre ha sido *regalia* de ignorancia." p. 15. deserted the standard of his country, (i. e. of Buenos-Ayres!) and had communication with the enemy*. Thinking men foresaw these calamities, when they beheld him letting crimes go unpunished, and *instilling false notions on the sacred right of civil liberty*. p. 16, 17.

"But for this occupation (viz. of Banda Oriental by the Portuguese) there was probably another concurrent cause. It is not credible that the insulated state to which the Banda Oriental was reduced by her untimely secession from the other provinces, could have been the only motive that decided the cabinet of Brazil to take possession of it. The leading cause of this conduct, we think may be found in the disgust and scandal with which the *pernicious doctrine* of Don Jose Artigas was heard in the neighboring court. Undoubtedly his extravagant maxims roused against him the justice, policy, and apprehensions of that power. She trembled without doubt lest symptoms of this contagion should be introduced into her house, and resolved to strangle it in the cradle. She beheld an adjacent territory in a blaze of anarchy by the adoption of anti-social principles subversive of all order; and this unquestionably decided her to extinguish a conflagration that might have been propagated to the centre of her *states*.† &c. &c.

"Such are the melancholy effects of Artigas's doctrine; *seductive theories* as impracticable as ruinous: abuse of liberty instead of its rational use." p. 36, 37.

* A similar story has been forged with respect to the leaders of the republican party in Chili.

† Another cause may be repeated,—viz. the intrigues of Puerreydon and others in Buenos-Ayres and at Rio Janeiro.—In consequence of a secret plot, the Portuguese were requested by a party in Buenos-Ayres to occupy the Banda Oriental. —When the British ministry asked for explanations on this point, (which they were probably well acquainted with,) the Portuguese ambassador produced a copy of the written invitation as signed in Buenos-Ayres.—Our *Secretary* was in an *extacy* in Buenos-Ayres at hearing the word *state*. He now learns how it is applied to enslaved provinces. In short, the embers of discord are constantly stirred in Buenos-Ayres and Chili, *as elsewhere*, by British intrigues.

"If Entre-Rios should have followed the deplorable example, there is no doubt, but it would have been also occupied by the arms of his Most Faithful Majesty. These would not have operated on other principles than those manifested in taking possession of the Banda Oriental." p. 39. He insinuates that the people of this territory have deserted Artigas.

"Artigas at the very time he was treating with it, audaciously provoked the government by circulating the Baltimore-libel with comments among the people, by which he endeavored to discredit the present administration: he unshipped the rudders and detained several merchant vessels from this capital that were trading up the ports of the Uruguay; and lastly has declared war against Buenos-Ayres in Colonia del Sacramento and other points, disseminating by means of secret agents incendiary proclamations to the very bosom of this capital. p. 41.

In 1810, he (Artigas) warmly recommended the blockading of Buenos-Ayres, by sending a squadron of gun boats up the Parana to intercept the passage of troops and other auxiliaries which the capital might desire to pass by the Baxada. p. 44.

"It appears from the same well known diary, that as soon as the president of the supreme executive power arrived at the Little Falls (Salto Chico) of Uruguay, in June 1812, and assumed command of the army, Artigas one day, before his soldiers tore off the badges of colonel with which the government had decorated him, and formally returned the president's dispatches, saying that he would have nothing from *Buenos-Ayres*; and thence forward whatever he was to be, should proceed from the will of the people. And his performance has even exceeded his word." p. 45.

I supposed sir, that even this invidious profile of an energetic old campaigner, crayoned out by a foe, might probably afford you some amusement. You may perhaps interpret it, like our Secretary's philology, quite contrary from the authors' intention—and the linguist and biographer be apostrophized together!—

"Philologers of future ages,
How will they pore upon thy pages!
Nor will they dare to break the joints,
But help thee to be read with points:
Or else, to show their learned labour, you
May backward be perused like Hebrew,
In which they need not lose a bit
Or of thy harmony or wit."

Instead of honest history, these writers seem to emulate each other in pasquinade and satire, and clumsy calumny. Did they hope to be believed, when they do not even take the trouble to conceal the hatreds and predilections of party-men?

Perhaps, sir, you do not know, (since grovelling characters are beneath your notice) that this wretched pamphleteer so venal and furious, is an unnatural native of the Banda Oriental; that, by his defamatory apology for the Portuguese intrusion and abuse of Artigas—this abandoned libertine has obtained promotion in the department of

state under Mr. Tagle. He has combined with conspirators against freedom; and fulminates his anathemas against Artigas, because he will not enter into the same league. By *anarchy* he means liberty: by *order*—passive obedience to the orders of Buenos-Ayres. And so those creatures have their deceitful vocabulary.

In p. 21, 45, 55, he accuses general Artigas of acting in concert with the Spaniards! A sham plot, to excuse a real one! A stronger reason for the denunciation is explained by the following, at p. 20:

“We have seen that he (Artigas) revolutionized the provinces of Entre-Rios and Corrientes; that he passed the Parana, and spread disaffection to Santa-Fe, Cordova, and Santiago del Estero.”

His exhortation is not directed against the Portuguese, but against the champion of independence:—

“To arms, to arms, ye rational beings, against this *new-Carib*, the destroyer of the human race.” p. 66.

If enough has not fallen from their own lips to condemn the antagonists of Artigas, I promise you not to leave the matter much longer doubtful—if I am blessed with life and leisure.—Philosophers advise us that “the surest of all sure things is to doubt” (*de las cosas mas seguras, la mas segura es dudar**) and the maxim is safe and certain: for, he who suspends his judgment will not be mistaken. But, mankind incline to the opposite and positive extreme; and from impatience or indolence, will rather make up an opinion without evidence, or with insufficient grounds than remain in a negative undecided state.—If you encounter a moral certainty in the sum of all these observations and citations, you will not hug suspense. I assure you, again and again, that I wish not to trepan you into a decision. Love of truth and sound policy,—or indignation at the violation of both, compelled me to unsheath my quiet goose-quill.—If this episode is of no other service, it will amuse you by a transition from things to persons.

Whether we consider the principles and popularity of general Artigas, or the conduct of his adversaries, I think you will not only pronounce our *Secretary* guilty of rashness and injustice in siding with one of the parties, but conclude that he may possibly expose the United States to serious injuries in their relations with one of the most important sections of that country. Such are the provinces under Artigas. You are aware how the British government through its agents, has opened and preserves commercial intercourse with that general. Far from treating him as a barbarian or a rebel, they were prudent enough to stipulate with *him* for a free trade. Suppose---that general meets with the “elegant extracts” from this voyage which are to adorn the governmental prints of Buenos-Ayres; what will be his feelings under such indecorous abuse from the *Secretary of our Mission*? He might infer from the *title*, that its publication was countenanced by our government. What is he to think when he perceives that all the calumnies invented by his enemies at Buenos-Ayres are re-echoed and extended by a man ostensibly acting *under the orders* of this adminis-

*A remark of D. Pedro Montengon, the author of “El Eusebio,” a work I have not seen; but have lit on this quotation from it.

tration? Is this conduct calculated to attach general Artigas to the United States?---Is it consistent with the object of the mission to convert the republicans of that quarter into enemies; since the usurpers are naturally inimical to us?---Our commissioner's reports answer *No!* The refractory Secretary has written for one side,---not to promote the present or future interests of the United States. He may gain a dishonorable popularity with the leaders of a faction, serviceable to him if he intend to emigrate from the United States. I will not question his superior fitness for a country where character and virtue are assailed without scruple.---If the Secretary had had any *facts* of a delicate nature to communicate, he might have done it silently. It was not wise nor *honest* to attempt provoking the ill-will of a man so influential as general Artigas, toward the citizens of this country. If resentment is in proportion to wrong, his may only be measured by the malice of his calumniator.---Things worthless in themselves may be highly noxious and pernicious to others.---The viper and coral-snakes are useless in creation---but their bite often proves mortal in five minutes.

How different are the portraits of this chieftain, as drawn by honorable or more impartial men! Mr. RODNEY affirms, on the authority of "persons entitled to credit," that general Artigas is a "firm friend to the independence of his country;" that he is "unquestionably a man of rare and singular talents"---The "animated letter" to Puerreydon, annexed to his Report, is a pretty convincing proof of his ability. (See Rodney's Report, p. 26 and documents.)

Dean Funes, now arrayed against him, speaks of Artigas as "that singular man, who unites keen sensibility to a temper apparently phlegmatic; an insinuating simplicity to a polite and stately gravity; an intrepid frankness to a complaisant familiarity;" &c. He equally extols his ardent patriotism, but adds sufficient *shading* to render the likeness tolerable in Buenos-Ayres. See tom. iii. page 522.

Other incidents evince his good sense and modesty:—"General Artigas returned to the commissioner *de cruzada*, at Buenos-Ayres, his bulls [which had been offered for sale] saying, *his people wanted arms, not bulls.*"* He would not allow of comparisons with Washington. Would to God! said he, that we had but Washington's little finger among us; and our dissensions and errors would soon vanish.

* See *Pazos' Letters*, page 89. "This fair of bulls, or *indulgences*, (says he) which is a branch of public revenue, has in latter times fallen into contempt in Buenos-Ayres, and been abolished; the people of that city, who ten years ago believed in their efficacy, now laugh at the imposture."—This is an excellent symptom; it augurs a remarkable revival of reason when a gentleman educated a clergyman, writes in the style of Mr. Pazos.—He attributes the principal vices of society to the celibacy and the debauchery of the priests. The *present* faction of Buenos-Ayres, contrary to the spirit of reformation, uphold the clergy in their immunities, and employ them as powerful political machines.

Page 15, Mr. *Pazos* remarks, that the abuse of the expedient of *confession* was productive of great debasement on one side, and irresistible influence on the other. "These disciples of Loyola, (the Jesuits) being possessed of the *confessionals*, and by this means of the most secret thoughts of the people,—and availing themselves of their pretended Divine authority, it is easy to conceive that no-

Traits like these refute mercenary tales.—The calumniators have our commissioners' Reports against them; they have the overtures and arts of Buenos-Ayres and Spain against them; they have his extraordinary popularity against them; all of which are tests of talent, or evidence of reputation.

Among the "names of the gallant chiefs, who have so heroically led to the field of glory an undisciplined and inexperienced multitude to resist the incroachments of foreign tyrants, and that will be transmitted with honor to posterity;" among these, says Pazos, "general Rivera and Don *Jose Artigas* must have the most splendid pages" of history allotted to them:—"Don Jose Artigas, THAT EXTRAORDINARY MAN, WHOM NATURE HAS SO PRODIGALLY GIFTED WITH GENIUS, "and who has so gloriously sustained himself and his country, amidst "the convulsions of intestine war, and the conflicting passions of the "human heart; who has been the stable rock of the ocean, against which "the ambitious billows of the Brazilian cabinet have beat in vain, and "whose important services to his country must command the gratitude "of his compatriots and the admiration of the world."---

This is the testimony of a man who knows both Artigas and his enemies; "and his record is true." Whence is it that the "learned" *Secretary* explodes statements so manifestly authentic? Did he translate them and adopt the version?---On that ground only can he be acquitted of malice prepense. He is fully entitled to plead HIS ERUDITION in extenuation.---But, we must arraign him on other COUNTS, I fear,

"Besides his nonsense in translating
For want of accident and Latin."

The "Censor" of Buenos-Ayres with all the government-prints having raised a hue and cry against the political doctrines of Artigas, it is natural to enquire for a specimen of their own. In the Censor of February 12th, 1818, extracts of Carnot's Memoir of 1814 are published, with comments. "Carnot, (says the writer) does not defend the DANGEROUS DOCTRINE OF TYRANNICIDE, and says that it is with grief he is compelled to make these horrible citations."

"Perfect equality does not exist in nature, and is regarded generally as a chimerical system."

This is enough, I imagine, to exhibit the monarchical commodity. Perfect equality of right to the laws was never reputed "chimerical" except by the enemies of civil liberty. Political equality is the perfec-

thing could be concealed from them, and that no scheme could be projected among the people which they could not turn to their advantage. And here I cannot but remark that a system of religion which obliges its professors to act as self-accusers, and to regard the councils and doctrines of their priests as oracles of Heaven, is without doubt the most potent engine of despotism ever devised. This moral power, superior in itself to the armies of kings, was of unimaginable force when wielded by the Jesuits."

Superstition is debilitated by the phlebotomy of the revolution; it is now a mild mechanical custom rather than a religious frenzy.—Except among the grossly ignorant, there is less fanaticism by far in South America than in our own country.

tion of governments,—which indeed are a blessing or curse as they contain or lack this VITAL principle.

How fortunate that there is an Artigas to expose the ROTTENNESS and resist the dictation of a Buenos-Ayrean party who combine all the essences of British, Portuguese, and native intrigue! To his glorious resistance we may justly apply the panegyric of Ercilla on Lautaro. The one was no less the RALLYING POINT OF PATRIOTISM than the other:

Though Rome exulting give the Decian name
With their sad off'ring, to eternal fame;
Tho' Curtius pass'd the gloomy gulph below,
And Mutius' burning hand amazed the foe;
Though Cocles long maintain'd the bloody post,
And with his single arm repell'd a host;
Though in the pass Leonidas was seen,
Tinging with Median gore the fatal green;
Since first the world was shook by war's alarms
A greater ne'er was known in deeds of arms.
Let Furius with Marcellus join his claim;
Fulvius and Quintus with the Sergian name;
Say of these famous chiefs can one exceed
Or match this patriot chieftain's brilliant deed?—

Many there are who with a brave disdain
Face all the perils of the deathful plain;
Who fir'd by hopes of glory, nobly dare,
Yet fail the stroke of adverse chance to bear;
With animated fire their spirit shines,
Till the short splendor of their day declines;
But all their valour, all their strength expires
When fickle Fortune from their side retires.
The brave *Artigas*, when the die was cast,
War's dire decree against the country past,
Made the stern Power the finish'd cause resume
And finally reverse the cruel doom;
By manly efforts in the dread debate
Forc'd the determin'd will of adverse fate."

His enemies hoped to crush him by letting in the Portuguese; but he has sometimes retreated into the very *pampas* of Buenos-Ayres and Santa-Fe, when pressed by a superior force in the Banda or Entre Rios. ---He moves and wheels whithersoever he pleases,---now acting offensively, now defensively. The name of his MONTANEROS is a terror even in Chili; and, the usurpers who are harassing that country by requisitions, and creating three orders of nobility, to be endowed with plundered estates, look towards the Andes---lest Artigas should come and enter a protest against them with his lance.

It never occurred to our Secretary (why did it not?) to enquire of any of his Buenos-Ayrean visitors, or of "mine hostess of the garter," the causes of the *trastornos* which so often harrassed the *patriots*, and shivered the best institutions founded by the fathers of the revolution. Did he foresee, that no answer could be returned to such interrogatory without implicating the "men in power?" Their party having occasioned all the excesses, confusion and cruelties, which afflict the country, and nullify the labours of the republicans.—He never asked how

it came to pass, that a ministerial editor (Antonio Valdez) who managed two government-presses, was rewarded by a mission from Puerreydon to Europe, for his philippics against republican government and his vindication of monarchy; while the editor and others who answered him, were banished: He never reflected that the Censor and Gazette were supported by government; and that a newspaper cannot (at present) find sufficient patronage from the community to defray the expenses of its establishment. Disbursements must be made by a party, or by the government.—The law which secured the freedom of the press behind *trial by jury* was rendered a dead letter and openly violated by the “men in power.” They would not tolerate argument.—To justify this arbitrary restriction, their writers inveigh against the licentiousness of the press in *England, France* and the *United States*. “The Tom Paines, the Holcrofts, the Thelwalls, the Cobbetts in England; and in France the Brissots, the Petions, the Robespierres, *les ecrivains de la violette*, disseminate their daily journals and libels to excite the rabble (*el populacho*) to anarchy.” (See *El Americano* of Buenos-Ayres.)—Of the condition of the newspaper press in the United States, the editor of the Censor, &c. had spoken with supreme contempt; and we must acknowledge with some reason—but a reason very different from the one he assigned.

Had the *Secretary* here turned his inquiring eyes in this direction, perhaps I should not have been compelled to pull the visor from himself or his work—He would have discerned the object of the “men in power,” by their efforts to conceal it. He would have learned that while some of *them* were oscillating between an incorporation with Brazil under a monarchical form, and others preferred the sacrifice of the Banda Oriental and the creation of a new dynasty in Buenos-Ayres,—the whole party were unanimous in deriding republican government.—To effect this purpose, democracy was painted in hideous shapes and frightful colors; while monarchy was made to appear with the blended beauties of Hebe, of Venus, and Minerva. To the translation of Bissett’s *Sketch of Democracy*, by *C. Henriquez*, a governmental editor, is prefixed this dedication; literally translated:—

“TO THE SOVEREIGN CONGRESS.

“SIR,—The luminous principles, the profound and useful observations, comprised in this little tract, embolden me to present it to the hands of those on whom depend the destinies of these provinces.

With the profoundest respect, I am &c. &c.

C. H’z.”

In his Advertisement he says, “the author (of this interesting valuable work”) knew how to combine abstruse philosophy with truth of narrative.—The nature of the treatise requires a deliberate reading, and a calm, temperate, and circumspect judgment.”

But the moderation recommended, was only on one side, and *on paper*. Monarchy was to be admitted by an open avenue smoothed by the pressure of a political roller; and its opposers squashed under ground. In the dialogue described between Tagle and Puerreydon, the former animates the drooping spirit of the latter:

"*Tagle*—Have you forgotten San Martin's plan—drive out of the country, or out of the world, every man of worth and ability who can bring us into discredit by directing public opinion. Where should we now be, if this balsamic measure had not relieved us from the canaille, who wander in foreign lands or quietly repose in the dust of the tomb? *One of the methods (and beyond all doubt the surest) to subjugate the people, is, to sacrifice the part who think in order to retain the portion who only vegetate.* To retreat is imprudent: we must command, be the means what they may: to promote this purpose we possess the moral influence of the Grand Lodge,* and the physical force of bayonets without counting on the cowardly stupidity of the people.

I am not possessed, more than yourself my venerable friend,—of that charitable apathy which like our Secretary's, could chant.—

"Be to such faults a little blind."

nor could I as a citizen of these United States look with pleasure on monarchies springing up all around us on this continent.

Had the Secretary but perused the history of Buenos-Ayresan intrigues with the slightest attention, he might have extracted a little table from it illustrative of the motives of the ruling faction.—Why he shut his own eyes or would blind others,' he best knows! But, if we should rejoice at the servitude and disabilities of Brazil, as our author intimates, we ought, for the like reason to invoke tyranny to seize dominion every where else. Let all be degraded and manacled, lest they rival us! Let us monopolize air and light, and freedom and—the tobacco or cotton market!—How base, abrupt and stupendous a descent some creatures make from principles to—pelf!

Their previous acts however are mildness—beneficence itself, in comparison of their subsequent ones. By clearing away as much of the voyager's rubbish as possible in this letter, we shall secure a better foundation for historical investigation in the sequel.

Every one will admit, that honor and confidence are the natural reward of patriotism. Among an incorrupt people it is ever so.—*They are never ungrateful*, though they may mistake friends for enemies sometimes; as the most honest are most liable to be deceived by cunning. I am enabled to supply the Secretary's omission from a manuscript commentary on Funes's History and on the exculpatory publications of the party at Buenos-Ayres. Independently of this, their own statements condemn them.—We behold at one view the fate of those

*A combination or factious club formed at Buenos-Ayres by *San Martin*,—after the fashion probably of *Orange Lodges* and other intolerant cabals in England and Ireland. There being a silly religious prejudice against freemasons among Spaniards, &c. a foolish and unwarrantable attempt has been made to confound one with the other,—the good with the bad, and *light* with darkness.—This explanation would be due to truth alone, were the *honor* of the *fraternity* not of the utmost concern to the humblest brother.

The appellation given to this association by its founders, is "Patriotic Society, or Friends of the Country;"—and is a governmental machine, for arraying individual against public interests. It is enumerated among the *public institutions*, by Mr. secretary Tagle's communication marked *D.* in page 109 of *Rodney and Graham's Report*.

citizens who effected the revolution, or composed the first congress of La Plata.—You will perceive traits of ingratitude and violence from which our revolution was in *general* exempt. The first column is taken from Funes, who could not conceal facts in this case, although he often evades truth or violates it.

*Who planned and executed
the revolution of 1810.* }

Their fate and fortune.

Dr. Juan Jose Castelli;

Died in prison at Buenos-Ayres eleven months after.

Manuel Belgrano;

General in the army, arrested until he came to terms.*

Feliciano Chiclana;

Just returned from exile.

Juan Jose Paso;

Often disgraced but now in office.

Hipolito Vieytes;

Died under arrest at Buenos-Ayres.

Nicolas Pena;

Disgraced and banished.

Jose Darragueyra;

Once exiled, but died subsequently at Buenos-Ayres.

Francisco Paso;

Once exiled, now lives in private. [ter.

Florencio Terrada;

In the army; saved by his want of character agent for Puerreydon in the United States, (insane.)

Martin Thompson;

Was exiled, and lost his health.

Dr. Ramon Vieytes;

In the army.

Juan Ramon Balcarce;

After being exiled is tolerated in the army.

Antonio Luis Beruti;

Lives privately.

Martin Rodriguez;

After exile, lives privately at Buenos-Ayres.

Augustin Donado;

In office.

Matias Iregoyen;

FIRST CONGRESS of 1810.

Dr. Francis Turragona,

Jose Antonio Olmos,

Jose Garcia Cosio,

Fr. Antonio Ocampos,

Francisco Garruchaga,

Dr. Manuel J. Molina,

Dr. Manuel Felipe Molina,

Jose Ignacio Marradona,

Juan Ignacio Gorrito,

Marcellino Poblet,

Dr. Jose Julian Perez (now insane) Gregorio Funes.

} all dismissed with disgrace.

SECOND CONGRESS, }
in 1813, }

Deposed and imprisoned in 1815, by the present ruling party.

FIRST EXECUTIVE,

D. Cornelio Saavedra

Arrested and exiled.

D. Juan Jose Castelli;

(As above.) Died in prison.

*Manuel Belgrano;**

Ut supra.

Miguel Azcuenaga;

No character.

Dr. Manuel Alberti;

Died, broken-hearted.

Domingo Mattieu;

Disgraced.

Juan Larrea;

Banished.

Dr. Mariano Moreno;

Died at sea a victim to ingratitude.

Juan Jose Paso;

Often disgraced.

Only the *indifferent*, or those who joined the league against the people, it seems, could escape proscription.

Mr. GRAHAM, who writes very circumspectly, observes, p. 39. that "great allowances are doubtless to be made for the circumstances of the times, and the danger and difficulty of tearing up ancient institutions, or of adapting new principles to them. But after due allowance for *all* these considerations, it *did* not appear to me that so much has been done for the cause of civil liberty, as might have been expected, or that those in power were its strongest advocates."

I would unite our South-American brothers on the ground of principle: I would admonish them to beware of "wolves in sheep's clothing," who enjoin concord only to extinguish opinion; who preach up charity only to screen offenders from stripes, or usurpers from exposure.---I begin to hope, that the people of La Plata will learn to distinguish their friends from their enemies: I am consoled in the belief that our government will act with liberality and wisdom.---The expedition of the chivalrous Bolivar,---the devotion of the Granadians to the cause, ---the prudence of the Venezolanian congress, deserve our friendship, and will receive it. If we have not aided, let us applaud. I know not why we should be backward in acknowledging the republics of Venezuela and New-Grenada: their independence is sure as their union.---Collisions and domestic oppression in La Plata and Chili would seem to claim a prudent pause and an affectionate mediation.---Weigh these suggestions, my good friend, and, if you pronounce me in error, I shall implicitly bow to the award of your unclouded judgment: but, if you approve, an unthinking crowd may condemn in welcome.

And to you, my worshipful "Secretary!" if in detection of your malicious misrepresentation, I have sometimes sunk into asperity, (against my intention of not exceeding the *ridicule* due to *vice*,) I shall now take my final leave of you,---but not of the subject,---and address a piece of solemn advice more worthy of your hearty assent than all the precedents your tribe ever quoted.---'Tis filched, if I must confess it, from the 8th Satire of one *Juvenal*, who made some noise in corrupt, imperial Rome, and was no less severe against vice than your worship against virtue. To save you from the arduous trouble of *construing* the original, I accept an exquisite version by an able hand:---

Be a good citizen, an upright judge,
A guardian incorrupt. If ever call'd
To give thy witness in a doubtful case,
Though Phalaris himself should bid thee lie,
On pain of torture in his flaming bull,
Disdain to barter innocence for life;
To which life owes its lustre and its worth.

You may perhaps flee to reformation when your poison is neutralized, and calumny unsaleable. Your power to do mischief being at an end, you may as well resign the will also.---Even could you escape now,---were there no idler to occupy himself in refuting you, still you would one day or other be obliged to settle accounts with yourself.

I have here, Mr. *Secretary*, detected a few of your faults,--but who

can animadvert on the *tythe* of them in a single letter? I have noted in your book upwards of *one hundred and twenty malicious fictions, contradictions, or misrepresentations*: Let samples of the feculent mass suffice. As I shall not for the future descend from the elevation of historical narrative to expose your particular iniquities and *gross impostures*, I shall now remind you of the awful ruin that awaits you. You were obscure; you courted publicity; but you forsook the path of honor, and must forever be consigned to disgrace---unless you publicly abjure your calumnies, reform your conduct, and implore forgiveness.--One or two cases more, and I dismiss you:

In one passage, (page 207, vol. II.) you insinuate, that there was no trial by jury to protect the press at La Plata; and this was your intended shield for Puerreydon, who had banished republican citizens for resorting to the press to refute monarchical doctrines,---overlooking the important fact *that jury-trial was introduced for the very purpose*,---and disregarding the assertion of the trial and acquittal of the party,---though published in this city long before your departure from Baltimore. Did you suppress the incident by design; or did you never learn an occurrence so notorious? Take your choice.

Did you,---(to select one case from a *hundred*) did you stifle the circumstance of the Banda Oriental sending delegates to the constituent congress called in 1813,---who were rejected because they claimed their seats on an equal federal principle? Were you ignorant of this fact, or did you smother it, to justify the men who dissolved that congress tumultuously and packed another?---Take your choice again.

You insinuate that arbitrary measures were justifiable in some cases to prevent revolutionary excesses, (page 17, vol. II;) and when despotic and sanguinary excesses were perpetrated by the "men in power," you ridicule dean *Funes's* regret as a weakness. You boldly insist, that such "scenes" are "necessary," inseparable consequences of all revolutions: (page 10, 11, vol. II.)---You hint, that the *clergy* are timid politicians; which certainly was not their character formerly, when they trod on necks, kicked off crowns, and excommunicated whole nations. If the American clergy are timid politicians, we cannot say as much in vindication of the lawyers, who have in a great measure overthrown the constitution, and *reversed* the great *principles of the American revolution*.---The Popes in the plenitude of their power, did not maintain doctrines more monstrous or alarming than are now asserted as indisputable *conons* by some of the lawyer-tribe. In fact, they have vaulted over every constitutional barrier and "*superseded the sovereignty itself by one of its creatures*."* So completely too are the people *sophisticated*, or so supine are they under invasion, that *political blasphemy* is now uttered by great lawyers as orthodox tenets.---This order is the more

*See Taylor's Inquiry, page 532; but *the whole treatise ought to be in every hand*.

Doctrine worthy of Constantinople, where law and religion are prescribed in the same code,---is often heard in our courts and legislatures. Present error or usurpation is fortified in past folly or corruption. *It has been once done, and the people have acquiesced in it*:---The "authority" of this example is paramount, obligatory, irreversible. It is not even open for examination!---Where this law

dangerous, as the habit of sophistry saps the judgment and extinguishes the moral sense. Accustomed to petty, minute constructive squabbles, the mind loses its expansive *capacity* as the eye its power of dilatation; and when a great subject is to be discussed, an ordinary lawyer cannot take a comprehensive view of it: When it is to be contemplated *fairly and directly*, the pettifogger can only look at it obliquely. Thus he contracts his mind to a mere *point*; and people preposterously rely on them as oracles who are incapable of forming a solid rational opinion. Thus, *two thirds of the calamities which gall the nation*, (and which menace the extinction of civil liberty) proceed from the silly fashion of electing lawyers for legislators. People forget that the *Henrys* and *Jeffersons*, the *Emmets* and *Blands*, appear but seldom.---It would be *less unreasonable* to select our naval and military officers, sailors and soldiers from the pacific, non-combatant [but, I admit, respectable] quakers, than to fill legislative offices with lawyers.---And, for the same reason, as all encroachments are to be apprehended from the executive and judicial parts of a government, the lawyers (from their habits and *esprit de corps*) are the most unfit beings to resist them. Indeed, they justify them all round.---In speaking, however, against the political operation of the profession, I do not mean to deny the private worth of many of the *order*. Our "Secretary," I fear, is an exception from the remark. But, that is out of our *jurisdiction*.

You, Mr. "Secretary," cite the "Outline of the Revolution," in relation to *Chili*, particularly; and that very part is unworthy of credit. It is, you well know, the splenetic fabrication of *Jonte* and *Yrrisari*, personal and political enemies of the republican leaders, especially of the *Carreras*. (I do not embrace the rest of the book in this remark, communicated by different deputies, &c. in London.)---When the adverse party, *L——* and Co. had surrendered the country in 1814, to the royalist *Gainza*, the *Carreras* were excepted from the benefit of the

gibberish is listened to with *patience*, the people are already half bent to the yoke.

The practice of resigning our own judgment to the *authority* of others must speedily terminate in slavery, because *it engenders slavish habits*. Having yielded in one instance, people blindly succumb in every other; *studious only of finding an example for it!* A more fruitful hot-bed for rearing sycophants could not be imagined. The devotees to *precedent* are dangerous partizans of power in a country that has (of late) too closely mimicked all the judicial, mercantile, and aristocratical trumpery of England—her party-idols, her monopolies in banks and funds,—her stock-jobbing and patronage. In fact, we have in operation much apparatus for "infusing aristocracy into the policy of the United States." At Athens, such a system of education for debauching the mind, would have been suppressed. Encouraged longer here, it will suppress every trace of manly republican sentiment. As worms in a putrid body, so are these satellites in a state. Their number and influence in one case as in the other are direct evidence of the degree of putrefaction. Well might Taylor exclaim: "Oh! America, America, thou art the truly begotten of John Bull!"—The principles, the simple theory of our government have been forgotten.—We had cast ourselves loose from Britain; but, the lawyers have again towed us along side, by judiciary aid and juridical tow-ropes.

base treaty.* They escaped from their dungeons, and their presence was enough to rouse the people; yet, on the recovery of the capital, *Yrrisari*, though guilty of collusion with the royalists, was magnanimously pardoned by general J. M. de Carrera, but in a contemptuous manner. This generosity he returned (as you *requited every act of the same kind*) by bitter calumny and black ingratitude. He is now ambassador in London, and *Jonte* holds a law-office, connected with the admiralty, or lord Cochrane's squadron. It is not to forestall the history of Chilian affairs, that I advert to this matter here, but to bring you on the carpet once more as a lawyer and *judge!*---To palliate the connivance of Buenos-Ayres at the dismemberment of the territory of La Plata, you retail a conversation, (or invent it) to show, that "it was a *private* and local war between Artigas and the Portuguese."---We supposed that the right of *private* war had ceased some centuries ago.

Another instance of your mode of judging by evidence is more curious; when you speak of ARTIGAS, for example, page 25, vol. II.---"*As to his refusing a bribe, I thought it rather an equivocal evidence of integrity.*" I believe you are the only person who could make such a decision.

When the count de Casa-Flores, (Spanish ambassador) sent an officer from Rio-Janeiro, last summer, with flattering overtures from the king of Spain, *Artigas* read the dispatches with stern indignation, and ordered the bearer to instant execution. Was this also "equivocal evidence of integrity?"

In the preceding page also, you make up your judgment *against* the testimony:---"They said that he [*Artigas*] was a *plain* old man, with no show or parade; that he has no riches, and indulges himself in none of the luxuries or ornaments with which men are generally pleased; that he is the true friend of independence, and the genuine lover of liberty; that the Spaniards offered him a brigadier's commission, which he refused. They also said much of his good intentions, and keen discriminating mind."---Had we met with this portrait in Roman story, we should have associated with it the image of *Junius Brutus, Fabricius* or *Cincinnatus*. We should never have inferred that the rigid republican was a disobedient savage. Our Secretary and "judge in Louisiana" treats the evidence very differently: "What they urged in his behalf only increased the unfavorable opinion I had begun to entertain." Oh! rare. A second Daniel come to judgment!

If the "men in power" had been drawn in such colors,---instead of a philippic against PAINE "*in the literal sense,*" he would have run a descant on their simple lives and unostentatious manners. Paine would have been his text-book,---"French revolutionary principles" would have been tolerated, and *Bissett's Caricature of Democracy*, banished to Punta St. Luis, or *New-Holland*.---Nay, perhaps it would have been burnt, like the murderous proclamation against Artigas, by a public exe-

*To cover their own treacherous league with Gainza, the Spanish general, in 1814, proofs of which I possess, the faction have fabricated a *Spanish despatch* which insinuates that the Carreras had surrendered Chili to Spain! Like your book, it contradicts itself, and exonerates the Carreras by styling them "rebels."

cutioner.---But, the calculation is for the meridian of *Buenos-Ayres*, not for that of *Purification*. At page 267, vol. I. you imbibe your belief from a skipper, that "San Martin was pre-eminent," &c. How facile and credulous in one case! and how fastidious in the other! Your "rules of evidence" are all *your own*.

I would dissuade you from misrepresentation, Mr. Secretary,---if not too late.---You would probably insist on the beauty of fiction, as of indispensable utility in the moral world. *Panurge* could hardly be reclaimed from his predilection for borrowing; and affirmed, as you know, that borrowing and lending cemented society in the utmost harmony; that the custom was one of the harmonies of nature and morals; that without this accommodation the world would be surrendered to "rap-arees, assassins, haters, poisoners, &c." In short, it would be an easier task to have fish entertained in the air, and bullocks fed in the bottom of the ocean, than to support or tolerate a rascally rabble of people who would not lend.---He was aware, that the debtor has no will but that of the creditor; which greatly promotes *social concord*, and confirms the *glorious* policy of unconstitutional *banks* in a *republican* land!* When a superior power laid his commands on him to get out of debt, he acknowledged the goodness and munificence of his lord and patron, but protested against the hardship of the injunction: "for henceforth, being quiet and out of debt, (says *Panurge*) what countenance shall I be able to keep?---You may imagine that it will become me very ill for the first month; because I have never hitherto been brought up or accustomed to it, I am very much afraid of it.---Furthermore, there shall not be one hereafter, native of the country of *Salmigondy*, but he shall level the shot towards my nose.---My life will be of very short continuance, I do foresee it. I recommend to you the making of my epitaph."---Try the experiment, at any rate, Mr. Secretary, with regard to misrepresentation.---*Inveterate usage* may be irremediable in personal as in juridical cases; though we deny that it ought to be law in any case.

Were it possible to obtain forgiveness for your misrepresentations of fact, or your defence of the parricides of liberty; were it possible to reconcile the public to your attacks on the republican party of *Chili* and *Buenos-Ayres*,---there is another trespass in the account against you, which is unpardonable: What is that? Your endeavor to deprive some of the republican exiles from *Buenos-Ayres*, of the benefits of our hospitality---of that holy law of sympathy and charity, which the very *Arab* holds sacred.---His necessities in a strange land, friendless and moneyless, compelled one of them to return and risk the chance of death there---having no means of *living* here.---He was seized in the river, put in irons, and imprisoned for many weeks on board a ship;

* A young merchant in a neighboring city refused to suffer his clerk to carry a check to a bank, drawn by another merchant, although but a few dollars of it were required in specie, and the rest in paper. In such dread did the people stand of the bank-directors.---*Let* --- send his own clerk, said he, *if he wants specie! We can't risk it.*

when he finally yielded to a bargain to support the measures of Puerreydon, and was qualified by thus passing under the yoke for managing one of the government presses.—This outrage on one side, and humiliation on the other, corroborate the tyrannous character of Puerreydon's government:—When the usurpers so treacherously defeated Carrera's expedition, and prohibited his return to his native land, even then they proffered him a salary of \$10,000, provided he should connive at their usurpation, and banish himself to the United States, as *their* ambassador!—He spurned the insulting overture, and was instantly proscribed as a *traitor*—(against the majesty of usurpers)—his friends put to death, and his country enslaved.—What excuse do we find here, for steeling our hearts against persecuted men? Why should we be proof against commiseration, because a sanguinary party in a foreign country have made victims?—Yet *you have recommended* such churlishness in some of the papers of Baltimore! You would have us imitate the demi-savageness of that inhospitable region,

————— where the rude Carinthian boor
Against the houseless stranger shuts the door?

Herein you were blind as well as malicious; because, you might have received important information from some of those worthy men,—who are as remarkable for a correct deportment as for studious habits.—Their acquirements are the fruit of deep and diligent research.—Rely upon it! that your ruthless conduct towards the exiles will embitter your own cup, when detection will expel you from *honorable* society. Had you nothing in view but to gratify their persecutors?

I read your work with a charitable disposition:—Aware of human imperfections, I was determined to make all possible allowance for errors;—but I was soon obliged to witness your depravity—and the perusal of your book resembled the moral dissection described as a physical one, by the immortal author of the *Tale of a Tub*!—“Yesterday, I ordered the carcase of a beau to be stripped in my presence, when we were all amazed to find so many unsuspected faults under one suit of clothes. Then I laid open his *brain*, his *heart*, and his *spleen*: but, I plainly perceived, at every operation, that the farther we proceeded, we found the defects increase upon us in number and bulk.”

If you, my indulgent friend, forgive my prolixity for this time, I promise as unfeignedly as any repenting sinner, never more to trespass above half so long on your bland, Uncle-Tobian temper.

—With a sketch of the composition and characteristic proceedings of the congress (as it is *called*,) I shall finish my tiresome letter and your present trouble.

The 25th May 1810 is always given as the commencement of the revolution in the late viceroyalty of Buenos-Ayres; it is therefore of importance that the political principles and objects of this commencement should be carefully noted.—The Buenos-Ayreans designate it: “as the day on which the people of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata, were, by a singular providence, delivered from the slavery which the Americans had suffered for three hundred years, and as the day of the

political regeneration of those provinces, by the free use of the rights of man, of which they had been despotically deprived by the Spaniards since the conquest of both Americas.”—On which it may be observed, that the people had then only determined to disengage themselves from the bonds of slavery, and to commence the work of political regeneration, but that no determination was taken (whatever was the *intention* of the leaders) to renounce all further connexion with the Peninsula.—This final step was not conclusively resolved on and published until the 9th July 1816.—Hence it would seem, that during the first six years of the revolution, the nature, forms, and principles of *self-government* were not *fully and freely* canvassed or tried by the leading men; because they had not then openly determined on the establishment of *absolute* independence; and therefore their actions and conduct in this interval ought to be viewed with many allowances, and cannot be considered as affording such decisive evidence of political character, as afterwards, when the minds of all and the opinions of all were openly directed towards the establishment of a frame of independent government.*

It is well recollected, that in our own country, many were supposed to be sound patriots until the trying epoch of the 4th of July 1776; the next refining period of our political men was that of the formation of the new constitution, under which we live at present.—And it is remarkable that, with very few exceptions, those who were on the side of aristocracy on the 4th July 1776, and when the present government was framed, have been found ranged on the same side in support of aristocratic principles of administration ever since.—It has thus been by the declarations and conduct of men in office and their advocates out of office on such decisive occasions, that the leading characters among us have had their political principles unequivocally developed.—Let us then resort to similar acts and epochs, (public and notorious,) as tests of the political principles of the present ruling faction at Buenos-Ayres.—Laying aside therefore all particulars prior to the meeting of the congress at Tucuman, and the declaration of *absolute* independence, as equivocal, (if you choose it for illustration’s sake) we will begin from that period to trace the views of the reigning party.

Dean Funes has given us (tom. 3. page 531 in note,) in the sketch of the revolution affixed to his History of Buenos-Ayres, a list of the members of congress convened at Tucuman on the 25th of March 1816, with the names of the provinces, cities, or districts they severally represented.—In the Report of the commissioners we are in like manner told the number of members and the provinces represented in the congress which sat in Buenos-Ayres in March 1818. From an official do-

* Nevertheless, the greatest melioration was effected in the first period of the revolution.—A public library and a free press, method, dispatch, and economy in the public departments,—not to speak of illustrious examples, and many laudable improvements, are indisputable memorials of the ardour, intelligence and patriotism of Dr. MORENO and his colleagues. (See Moreno’s Memoirs.) *It was the golden age of the republic.* Much was done for liberty before independence was declared; more against it, since the declaration of independence.—The causes will be carefully traced in my *third* and *fourth* letters—to which I reserve the proper discussion and relation.

cument signed by Jose Eugenio de Elias, secretary of congress, and dated 31st July, 1819, after the establishment of their permanent constitution, we are informed of the numbers and places, representing and represented in that *august* body henceforward. From these sources, the following comparative view is made out, and submitted to your unbiassed judgment:—

Congress of 1816.		Congress of 1818.		Congress after July 1819.	
Buenos-Ayres,	7	Buenos-Ayres,	7	Buenos-Ayres,	3
Cordova,	5	Cordova,	3	Cordova,	3
Rioja,	1	San Luis,	1	Cuyo,	2
Tucuman,	2	Mendoza,	1	Tucuman,	5
Catamarca,	2	San Juan,	1	Salta,	2
Santiago del Estero	2	Rioja,	1	Charcas,	3
Mendoza,	2	Catamarca,	1	Cochabamba,	2
San Luis,	1	Santiago del Estero	1	Potosi,	1
San Juan,	1	Tucuman,	2	8 Provinces and 21 Representatives.	
Misque,	1	Salta,	1		
Chuquisaca,	4	Jujuy,	1		
Cochabamba,	1	Potosi,	1		
Chichas,	1	Misque,	1		
Salta,	2	Charcas,	3		
Jujuy,	1	Cochabamba,	1		
15 Provinces and 33 Representatives.		15 Provinces and 26 Representatives.			

According to Funes's account of revolutionary events, the royalists regained the entire possession of Upper Peru in the year 1813, as far as Jujuy, at the eastern foot of the Andes, and have continued in the uninterrupted possession of it from that date to this.—So that the *provinces*, or by whatever other name those districts may be designated, of *Chichas*, *Potosi*, *Misque*, *Charcas*, and *Cochabamba*, which were then, and have ever since been in the possession of the royalists, and consequently could not within themselves make an election of any sort, had in the congress of 1816 *seven* members, and in that of 1818 *six* members which number they are still allowed to have, notwithstanding that body has been reduced in numbers from thirty-three to twenty-one!—

Can any one doubt that these members, nominally from the districts of Upper Peru, are placed in their seats by the chiefs of Buenos-Ayres? And is it not evident, that this *sham congress* is a mere *machine in the hands of the leaders of Buenos-Ayres*, made and unmade by them at pleasure?—The object of those military chiefs, it is well known, and as it has been manifested by this kind of shifting and packing of congresses, has been to throw every thing conducive to the establishment of the *representative system* into utter confusion.—Mr. Aguirre, the late agent of Buenos-Ayres in this country, as well as Mr. Deforest the present agent, have both (*I repeat*) publicly and frequently declared, that a *monarchy was the only and proper kind of government suited to*

the people of that country.—Those agents, no doubt, spoke from what they knew to be the *occult designs* of the *heads* of the Buenos-Ayorean faction by whom they were commissioned.—

Their election was never regular; nor their numbers or term of service well regulated. “About half the body are priests, and the citizens of Buenos-Ayres seem to be deemed eligible, and suitable to represent any province; in consequence of which the *church* and that *city* have always had their *full influence*.” (See Bland’s Report pages 48, 49.)—From this “rump parliament” has emanated such a scheme of civil, military, and ecclesiastical rule, as might have been expected from a body so constituted.

ABSTRACT OF THE CONSTITUTION.

“The constitution of the United Provinces in South America, adopted and published by order of the sovereign, general constituent congress, April 22d 1819,” is a strange compound.

It is arranged in VI. sections, including 138 articles, besides an appendix consisting of an extra. dozen. A few of its features will announce the political tribe and spirit of the government:—

Religion of the State.—Section I. The Catholic, Apostolical Romish religion is that of the state, which owes it the most effectual and powerful protection. An infraction of this article is regarded as a violation of the fundamental laws of the country.

The Legislative power:—Is to be vested in a national congress, composed of two chambers, representatives and senators.

The house of representatives will be formed of deputies chosen at a ratio of one for 25,000 inhabitants, or a fraction equal to 16,000.—Members must possess a property of 4000 dollars at least, or in default thereof, an useful art, profession or vocation. They are chosen for four years, one half renewable biennially; have the *initiative* of taxes, and imposts, and the exclusive right of impeaching the “members of the three great functionaries, ministers of state, envoys to foreign courts, archbishops or bishops, generals of the army, governors and superior judges of provinces, or other officers of equal rank,—for offences of treason, abuse of trust, malversation of public property, breach of the constitution, or other crimes punishable by death or infamy.

The Senate:—Shall consist of a number of provincial senators equal to that of the provinces; three military senators not of a lower grade than colonel-major (); a bishop and three ecclesiastics; one for each university; and the director of state after the completion of his term of office.

A senator must possess an estate of \$8,000, an equivalent income, or a profession serviceable to society. The senatorial trust shall last for *twelve years*, one third of the number renewable quadrennially.—An ex-director to hold his seat until replaced by his immediate successor in authority.

Their election or appointment.—Each municipality shall appoint a member of their chapter (capitular,) and a proprietor worth \$16,000, for electors. These shall assemble at a central point in the province designated by the executive power, elect three persons out of the civil

class, one of whom *at least* must reside out of the province. When the returns of these *ternaries* are made to the senate, (but for the first time to congress,) they will examine the votes, and those who have the majority, computing by provinces, shall be senators. If there be not a plurality, the senate shall elect them from those proposed.

Military senators shall be appointed by the director of state. The bishop of the diocese resident at the seat of the legislature, shall be senator for the first time; for the future, to be elected by the bishops of the territory. Ecclesiastical cabildos, &c. will elect three of their order, one of whom must belong to a different diocese.

Both chambers are to assemble in this capital, (Buenos-Ayres) for the first time, and afterwards in whatever place they themselves may determine;—will hold their sessions in the months of March, April and May; September, October and November.

Article 30. Each chamber may require the attendance of executive ministers in their hall, to receive such information as they think proper.

The general congress enacts laws for the union, decrees war and peace, establishes duties, and makes appropriations of imposts, (levied equally throughout,) for a term not exceeding two years: fixes the land and naval forces during peace; authorises the construction and equipment of a national marine; receives loans on public resources; creates and abolishes offices or employments of every kind, &c. &c. &c. secures to authors and inventors of useful works, &c. exclusive privileges for a limited time, and regulates money, weights and measures.

Executive power.—The supreme executive power of the nation shall be exercised by the person who may be chosen director; who, on his installation, takes an oath to comply and enforce compliance with the constitution of the state,—to protect the Catholic religion, and preserve the integrity and independence of the union.—He remains in office for five years; is eligible by the two houses in joint meeting, and must have a majority (i. e. more than half) of *all* the votes: is re-eligible for once by a vote exceeding two third parts of each chamber. He enjoys the usual *attributions*: gives reports, and makes propositions in writing to the legislature; appoints and removes public officers; concludes treaties by the concurrence of the senate; grants letters of citizenship according to law, and appoints to all offices not especially excepted; names archbishops and bishops on proposals of three by the senate; (à propnesta en terna del senado:) presents to all dignities, canonries, prebends, and benefices of cathedral and other churches.

Judicial power.—An *Alta Corte*, or supreme court, composed of seven judges and two *fiscals*, (attorneys-general) shall exercise the supreme judicature of the state.—None can be appointed a member of it except a regular barrister of eight years public practice, and 40 years old.—[In most respects the organization, jurisdiction, and pay, &c. of this court resemble our own.]

Equal right to protection of property and person, &c. under the laws is recognized; and *trial by jury is to be established as circumstances permit.*

The disposition in favor of personal security cannot be suspended; *but*, when by a remote and extraordinary contingency, which endan-

gers public tranquility or security, these provisions are impracticable, the authorities who find themselves in this fatal necessity, shall immediately give an account of their conduct to the legislature, who will examine the motives of the measure, and the time of its duration.

Exclusive advantages, distinctions or privileges shall not be granted to any man or association, except what may be due to virtue or talent; and which, not being transmissible to descendants, new titles of hereditary nobility are forbidden.

The rights of the Indians are acknowledged, and personal service extinguished.---The legislature is to meliorate the condition of the aborigines so as to raise them to a level with other classes of the state. Introduction of slaves is abolished forever.

All persons are to swear allegiance to this constitution; an attempt against which shall be punished by death or banishment, according to the degree of criminality.

Until the legislature devise and ordain the mode of electing deputies, the next chamber is to be formed according to the prescription of the provisional ordinance.

The three grand powers collectively shall have the title of *Sovereignty*, and *Sovereign Sir*, in speech or writing.

The national congress, composed of the two chambers, which constitute the legislature, will receive that of *Most Serene Highness*, and *Serenest Sir*.

Either branch of the legislature, and of the supreme executive and judicial powers, severally, shall have the title of *Highness* only in speech or writing; and that of *Sir*, (*Señor*) at the beginning of petitions and remonstrances addressed to them.

Ceremonial of seats at every renewal of the representatives, when the executive is to open the sessions, is most *etiquettically* prescribed. President and vice-president are to occupy the central seats of the front; the senate are to take the right, and the representatives the left: next to them, the members of the *Alta Corte*.

Insignia.---Senators and representatives in exercise of their official duties, will use a plate or 'scutcheon of gold, on the centre of which is engraved the motto (*lema*)---*Law*---bordered with two boughs of olive and laurel.

Senators shall wear dependent from the neck a cordon or chain of gold; representatives one of silver, which they may use out of their hall or in it.

Members of the *Alta Corte* will be clad in the *toga* or gown, for their costume of ceremony; at other times they may use a plate of gold with the device of *Justice*---encircled as above, and pendent from the neck a chain of gold and silver mixed.

This form of constitution is dated at Buenos-Ayres, 22d, and the appendix, the 30th of April 1819. Both are signed and countersigned by Dr. *Gregorio Funes*, president, and Dr. *Josef E. de Elias*, secretary.

I think I cannot imagine any critique on this rare constitution worthy of its noble quality, or equal to your penetration.

The duke was not so scrupulous in decorating *Sancho Panza*, when

about to be installed in the government of his island.—The honest squire resisted his court-costume, and vowed he should still be *Sancho*, dress him as they would. So will it be, I fear, with the dignified senators and judges with their chains of gold, their titles, and *puntillos*; “Sovereignty,”—Serenity and Sirship—Though bedizzened in the very *bon-ton* of man-millinery, I suspect that *Law* and *Justice* will *stick* on the *outside* of their breast-plates, or dangle from their buttons, or be *hanged* [if not quartered] on their supreme necks.—With due indulgence for Hispano-American habits, you will be apt to decide, that this instrument was “conceived in sin and produced in iniquity.”

Was it of this paragon of civil institutes and its effects, that the author spoke at p. 97, vol. II. viz. “It is idle to talk of their (the people’s) *not* being able to settle down in a SOBER and RATIONAL government, suited to THEIR situations and exigencies, although it may not be *exactly like ours*?”

A member of the English house of commons spoke more rationally many years since on a motion to repeal the Septennial Act. Sir John St. Aubin says, that “Human nature is so very corrupt that all obligations lose their force unless they are *frequently renewed*.” “For this reason, short parliaments have been less corrupt than long ones: They are observed, like streams of water, ALWAYS TO GROW MORE IMPURE THE GREATER DISTANCE THEY RUN FROM THEIR FOUNTAIN-HEAD.”

I record with pleasure an opinion *in point*, given by an English gentleman in Buenos-Ayres to one of our commissioners; and he spoke from an intimate knowledge of the *cits* of Buenos-Ayres, and of the population of the country. “What, said he, is the foundation of this boastful pretension of townsmen, who can read and write &c. &c. over uneducated rustics?—Why do those presume to consider these incapable of civil liberty?—What were the barons of England, who controuled arbitrary kings?—Why, sir, you know that many of *them* could not write their names.—Freedom is a possession too plain and substantial to depend exclusively on a few artificial acquirements or accomplishments. Rights are easily learned when leaders earnestly wish to disseminate instruction.—People ought not to be enslaved because they are illiterate, nor oppressed because they happen to be weak. Away with these insolent airs of superiority!”

Thus conversed this honest Englishman; and thus speaks every honest man.—Whatever *governments* may be, let us be just to honorable *individuals*.

No provision is made for obtaining the sanction of the people to this fundamental act. He that sweareth to it may be saved, but he that sweareth not shall be damned. So ordains the constitution—not dictated by the general will.

No provision is prepared for *popular election*; and to me it appears, that the legerdemain of a few cabildos and commandants will dispose of the whole business of election. If the practice were known, this instrument would make them forget it; how then can it teach precepts of civil liberty!

SWIFT justly admired the good old Gothic custom of *annual* parliaments, and saw no safeguard without them. A quadrennial term is

much too long.—The celebrated PETERMAN of GOLDENTINGEN, avoyer of Lucerne, fell gloriously at the battle of Sempach. “As he was expiring of his wounds, a friend who saw his danger, ran to his assistance, and finding him in the agonies of death, enquired with tender solicitude, if he had any *family* arrangements to make, while he was yet in a situation to do it.—“*Tell my countrymen*, replied the expiring hero, *that Goldeltingen with his latest breath, conjures them NEVER TO CONTINUE AN AVOYER IN OFFICE FOR A LONGER TERM THAN ONE YEAR. It is the advice of a dying man who loves his country, and who falls contented in having discharged his duty.*”

The principle is a sound one as regards all offices in all departments. They are public trusts;—and will assuredly be violated, without certain means of responsibility.

What then shall we say of the sacerdotal-civil-military-Senate?—Its cycle of service seems fitted to correspond with the number of the Apostles—but it would answer just as well to square it into a *hundred and forty-four*. Instead of cutting down the ecclesiastical fueros, the leaders cut down republicans, and erect privileged bodies to equilibrate with the bishops and archbishops.-- What a solemn farce!

For *such* a legislature, the executive holds neither inordinate power nor a disproportionate term of office.—But, in all offices of such elevation, precautions should be taken against feuds and intrigues among the members or states of the confederacy, by securing all from the machinations of each. No province should be allowed to claim the chief directorship for any of its citizens, twice in succession. Justice, respect and harmony would then be maintained throughout. This is of great importance. It would check encroachment, and preclude improper stratagems in the transmission of power.—It would prevent the executive power from absorbing all the rest.

As to the judicature, they have copied *our error*—it is of a piece with *their system*; but incompatible with a free government by *responsible agents*.

Upon the whole, I do not wonder that the dictators of *this* constitution should have laid a thousand snares to destroy republican chieftains of worth, constancy and valour. It is not for freemen.

But no comments that I can hastily form are entitled to notice, in comparison with principles already laid down and admitted by all our eminent men.

Election in itself affords a very feeble barrier against the inroads of tyranny,---a subtle principle that assumes an inconceivably greater number of shapes than the Proteus of mythology. Here again, your old favorite TAYLOR has so handled the subject as to leave nothing to be said by others.---Apply to *Buenos-Ayres*, what he has written of the *United States*; moral, physical, and mathematical truths being the same in all nations and times.

“Election is almost the only barrier opposed to executive ambition in the United States. Alone, it has universally been insufficient. Marius, Sylla, Pompey, Cæsar, Cromwell and Buonaparte were elected. The English house of commons, and the French legislatures under several forms, were elected. Election furnished in all these cases, the

means for introducing or exercising tyranny. By conveying *too much power*, or consolidating within a narrow compass the power it did convey, it awakened or excited ambition and avarice.”*

“The question is, whether the experience of all ages,—that *great power cannot be controuled by election*, shall induce the Americans to accumulate power; or whether our own existing experience, that *divided power may be controuled by election*, shall induce us to divide the mass collected in the national executive.

“The evidence on both sides yields exactly the same conclusion. All ancient experiments, to control undivided or great masses of power by national will, failed; our modern experiments, to control power in a state of considerable division, have succeeded. The first demonstrated the evil, the second demonstrates the remedy.”

Hence he argues, that an increase of executive power by “paper and patronage,—war, fleets and armies,” will carry into effect in a state of maturity the monarchical propensity observable in our infancy. This, he says, cannot be prevented, but by interposing a timely provision against it. “A blow cannot be avoided which is not foreseen.”

“Abbreviation of the time of service, and rotation in office, are auxiliaries in unmonarchising executive power, called forth by the state constitutions, and abandoned or relaxed by the general constitution. Our policy will not be made to flourish by inconsistent principles. Its two parts can only act with effect by acting in concert. The temptation to form factions and perpetrate usurpation, is graduated by the chance of reaping the contemplated fruit. A long time of service, connected with rotation, is an inducement to obtain influence by corruption, in order to destroy rotation; and a short time without rotation, is an inducement to use the same means to secure a re-election. *Rotation* and the *annual power* of the Roman consuls, *united, prevented* consular usurpation for centuries; annual appointment of proconsuls, without a strict rotation, produced proconsular usurpation in a few years.

“All mankind do in fact believe, that a short duration of delegated power is the best security for its continuing a delegation.”

A despot in his own case,—all men indeed—are unanimous in these principles. “He (a despot) carefully divides his provinces, his armies and his powers, so that no one dividend should be strong enough to dethrone him. If he is so imprudent as to place his army and his treasury under one man, and irrevocably to invest him with the command of them for four years, with a power of appointing and removing all officers civil and military,—he is dethroned by his first able, artful and ambitious general.” Consequently, popular sovereignty is prostrated in the same manner,—by giving up too much power.

“As countries are divided into provinces to secure kings, power

*If *election* is insufficient, even with some imperfect regulations, to preserve the purity of public officers and agents,—how *tremendous* must be the influence of *official power in the hands of permanent agents*, as *judges &c.* who assume the prerogative of extending the sphere of their own authority by dint of construction? Popes grew out of elective bishops.

ought to be divided into provinces to secure nations; and, as each geographical division is subject to the monarch, *each potential division should be subject to the people.*

"Power changes moral character, and private life regenerates it. The children of hereditary power are not tyrants from a procreative cause. They are made such by contemplation of the power to which they are destined.

"If the prospect corrupts, will the possession cleanse? It is not in a natural but a moral birth, that the defect of the hereditary principle lies. Great power, or a long possession of power, changes a man's moral nature, whether it is derived from inheritance or election. Patriots, as well as princes become tyrants from being steeped in the same menstruum; and yet nations are still to learn that its intoxicating qualities are the same upon both."

What soul-awakening but neglected truths are deposited in this unequalled book, like gold in an unknown mine!

"Even a hope of office corrupts eloquence. It ceases to be the animated auxiliary of truth, and becomes the mercenary ally of interest. Honesty is exchanged for art. An artificial character is formed by a possibility of continuing considerable power. It assumes different principles with different persons. It gilds its bait with patronage, contracts and charter, at the public expense. And the varnish it assumes is to conceal the foulness of the stuff it hides."—(See *Taylor's Inquiry*, &c. p. 170—189.)

It is a consolation to recur to reasoning like this,—after the pain of reading the burlesque constitution of La Plata, her *twelve years'* senate, mitres, and other *cachivache*.

What is the *Secretary's* apology?—Why,—he says that the public mind is not yet prepared for religious toleration, and will not be for many years to come, p. 297, and talks of the "savage character of the population of the plains, and of the gloominess of the colonial faith," being "serious considerations," in regard to Buenos-Ayres. He would place Puerreydon and his politicians in a dilemma where difficulties stand so thickly on either hand that it is impossible to make any choice whatever. There may be military plots, insurrections, he thinks, and the government be deposed—or rather, the persons who have seized it. But, let us recollect, that they were basking in sunshine; if they have conjured up storms, it must have been because they preferred them. They may have had their hardships; but their severest privation was not worse than that which a grave author states of the "poor—rich, humble,—sovereign" missionaries of Paraguay, viz—"They have plenty of roots and herbs; and the ONLY thing they want is oil to their salads, instead of which they are forced to use honey and sugar."

After all, I agree with the unfortunate "Secretary" in one point: "We pay too little attention to South America."* Whether we

*I again point your eye to the deceptive title of the VOYAGE—*Performed by order of the American government in the years 1817 and 1818!*—They were not ONE year occupied in the mission.—It is quite perceptible, that this petty ruse was intended to promote the sale of a dull article here, or help its circulation at Buenos-Ayres.—He justified the constitution in the newspapers!!!

are to close as friends, or clash as foes, let us be *neurer*. If we are cold to her chiefs, let us evince friendship for the people. Endowed with a happy genius, the South-American is entitled to our respect; he will command our admiration, when he unfolds his faculties under a protective government.—Wherever Venezuelanians of education take refuge in the islands, their talents win an ascendancy. The advocates in Trinidad, who lead the bar, *Mendoza, Garcia, Pena* and *Salazar*, (*absit invidia!*) are South Americans. They are accomplished scholars beside, especially the latter, who is a poet, biographer and historian of no ordinary merit.—It was he, who, after commemorating his martyred colleagues in Santa-Fe, &c. wrote a poetical tribute to the memory of our glorious and lamented PERRY.—Would to God! that their talents were at this moment in the service of their country, and that country disenthralled from Spanish habits, (for she will soon be rid of Spanish troops) from British plots and machinations, and the Portuguese and mercantile conduits through which they are injected! I need not assure *you*, sir, that the *calico-war*, the *broad-cloth war*, and the *hard-ware hostilities* of John Bull, are a thousand times more formidable than the catapults and scorpion-engines of Roman besiegers.—They resemble the hurdles that *screened* the *battering-ram* and the soldiers who worked it: Or, as president Adams has said, in one of his letters—They “conceal the asp in a basket of figs.”—I wish you could extricate the South Americans from this venomous influence.—The interposition would, like mercy, be “twice blessed,”—to the giver and to the receiver.—In a COMMERCIAL light, an intimacy with South America is of inestimable importance.—But, of this in my next. I run the hazard perhaps of making my varied communication like the Secretary’s “Introduction” or Geography, a hodge-podge,

Where every something, being blent together,
Turns to a wild of nothing.

I will retreat from the subject, and give you the respite of a week, when I hope to receive the benefit of your reflections,—and ’till then, *Adieu*.

NOTE OF LATEST INTELLIGENCE FROM CHILI,—RECEIVED SINCE THE
PRECEDING WENT TO PRESS.

Letters from Buenos-Ayres and Chili, written in September and October last, and entitled to the highest credit, are before me. Their contents confirm my opinions, and chill my hopes. The republicans there seem stretching forth their supplicatory hands towards the people of the United States, and to implore their guardianship: “Will you suffer “us, your brothers and imitators, to be *crucified* between native usurpers and foreign emissaries? Internal traitors and European cabinets “are consigning freedom and its votaries to one common tomb. We “thought you would vindicate our rights, because we believed you were “friendly to civil liberty. What *stoicism* has so frozen your blood, “that you can calmly behold us tortured on the rack, and bleeding at “every pore.—We do not wish you to be involved in war on our ac-

"count--All the assistance we require you can render without violating national duties." But, to the abstract.

"Three grades of military nobility, (says one of our countrymen,) with specific privileges, have been established in Chili, under the dictation of Buenos-Ayres. They are exempted from ordinary tribunals, have *fueros* as extensive as the nobility of Spain, or Great Britain; and can be tried only by their *peers*. Estates are to be given them from the confiscated lands of the republicans and a few old Spaniards. In the meantime they enjoy pensions beside their stipend as officers.

"The army consists of 9000 regulars, and a division of 3000 called the *auxiliary army of the Andes*. Orders are issued to raise 26 battalions of cavalry and 20 regiments of militia infantry. An expedition was ready to sail for Peru as soon as lord Cochrane destroys the enemy's squadron of ships and gun-boats at Callao, which you know is the harbour of Lima.

"No elective right whatever exists among the people; for there is no representation. Power confers right, and consecrates every public act.

"There is a senate (so called!) of five members always in session. It is a sort of extra cabinet and seldom ventures to oppose the supreme director and his ministers in any thing. The principal *laws*, if they deserve the title, consist of directorial decrees, proclaimed by a crier, a guard, and drummer in the streets. There are some ordinances.

"Since Irrisari went to London, one Garcia manages the government press; which teems with philippics against the government and people of the United States. An advocate of eminence, Iganu, author of the first aristocratical constitution of Chili, (the same who ridicules trial by jury, &c.) is writing *Letters from the Puenches*, to answer the anti-republican views of the "men in power." Notwithstanding this undisguised enmity to freedom, a scheme is formed for misleading the people of the United States by means of hired writers and agents, and false publications.--Some renegado North-Americans have become subservient to the fraud; and one at least has raised himself from the rank of *accomplice* to that of *principal* in the plot by proposing amendments to the project. Hence some give him the *honor* of hatching it. Captain -----'s misconduct on the *other side* over-heaps the measure of *inequality*. He brought into the port of Valparaiso from Lima, and under the American flag, a cousin of the viceroy and colonel of the royal lifeguards, a colonel of artillery and chief engineer, with some of their families, merchants and a large sum of specie. He had received a sword from the viceroy, said to be worth 50,000 dollars.--He departed with this *contraband* freight so precipitately from the harbour, that American merchants were deprived of an opportunity of remitting their money. Under pretence of negotiating an exchange of prisoners, an emissary was also brought who had different speculations in view.--These acts have rendered us both despicable and detestable in the eyes of the Chilians; and the monarchical faction gladly avail themselves of them to bring our principles into disrepute.

"The English and Buenos-Ayreans go hand-in-hand in propagating injurious and false impressions respecting the United States. President Monroe's good intentions are reversed by the perfidiousness of-----

and———. The royalists dislike us from policy, and the republicans are tempted to condemn our coldness. Inimical industry has been but too successful against us.—The Chilenos *did* entertain favorable sentiments towards us before their minds were contaminated by Englishmen and Buenos-Ayreans. In a word Buenos-Ayres is become almost a colony of Great-Britain, and Chili a dependency of Buenos-Ayres.

“Extraordinary efforts are making through the medium of the bishops and priests, of processions and mummary, to make popular reason retrograde towards barbarous superstition.—In a sermon lately the credit of the victory of Maypu was roundly ascribed to Nuestra Senora del Carmen,—an ascription that makes the Virgin Mary as warlike as Pallas or Minerva. I pass over the circumstance of a chapel being built and dedicated to her on the spot; as the gallant Swiss celebrated some of their most glorious triumphs by piously erecting chapels as memorials.”

Thus marches British plot with contemporaneous step towards its consummation. In Buenos-Ayres and Chili the same malignant star sheds its blasting influence.

Assuredly, an openly avowed nobility, with vast domains, is better than an indirect one, secretly introduced, in shape of incorporations, or other orders; but perhaps not so easily expelled.

“Hereditary aristocracy, *supported by perpetuities*, is preferable to a paper and patronage aristocracy, because its taxation would be less oppressive, since its landed estate would furnish it with opulence and power; whereas eternal and oppressive taxation is necessary to supply the aristocracy of paper and patronage with these vital qualities.”—“It aggravated the misery of Prometheus that his liver was made to grow for the gratification of a harpy, without appeasing its voracity.”—And such is the impalpable taxation perpetrated by banks and funding systems.

“The aristocracy of ancient superstition defended itself by exclaiming, the Gods! the temples! the sacred oracles! divine vengeance! and Elysian fields!—and that of paper and patronage exclaims,—national faith! sacred charters! disorganization! and *security of property!*” Yes, of the very property it saps, cheapens, undermines and—acquires.

In one point both agree, with the same author’s description: Each is “a minority organized, not to preserve, but to suppress popular influence.”—There is this variation: the one is from the beginning above and independent of the people; the other becomes the people’s master from their influence over leaders of the rank-and-file of party. For these, like true soldiers, follow their officers to—Jerusalem if necessary. But, I trust there is a *greater* difference,—that ours is curable, and may be abolished, while the other is incurable and must continue forever,—if suffered to take root. In “this regard” ours is as a pimple; theirs a cancer. I trust that we shall relieve ourselves from political blotches, which deform our fair system; and primitive principles recover their lost ground. I hope that we shall yet hold forth an example to be imitated by all the nations around us.

From our tardiness in aiding the cause of freedom to the southward, I am apprehensive of our losing the *opportunity* forever. I deprecate

the organization of monarchies on our continent. If we are faithful to republicanism and to our best commercial interests, we will prevent that mischief. We are bound to exclude the pest. Brazil would have been forced to relax her despotism by the moral and commercial operations of free governments in her vicinity: at any rate, we should have had but one monarchy in America.—If we are political defaulters, on the contrary, darkness is likely to prevail against light; and contagion, corruption, and monarchy will occupy the better portion of the continent.—It will be surrendered to the machinations of England, Portugal, and other cabinets. Are our statesmen asleep?—I hope they are only maturing a general and efficacious system.

Another letter from an American citizen dated at Valparaiso, 12th of October, 1819, and worthy also of *unlimited* confidence, has the following:—

“Lord Cochrane found at Payta, considerable booty, such as sugar, brandy and *household furniture*.* Indeed, it appears to me that his lordship is carrying on the same pitiful warfare that was waged against the poor farmers on the shores of the Chesapeake during the late war. I am of opinion that his lordship and general *San Martin* will do more injury to the cause of freedom in this part of the world than could ten thousand of Ferdinand’s troops. For, *it is my belief, that their intention is to make use of the resources of Chili to conquer Peru for themselves*: and the government of Chili which is calculating on the wealth of Peru to restore its credit, will find itself without money, without troops or credit.

“The people here generally regard *San Martin* with a jealous eye, and some are seriously alarmed; but none dare publicly express their sentiments. *San Martin* has command of the army, and the country is consequently at his mercy. The major part of his troops are from Buenos-Ayres: he has removed all the principal *Chilian* officers from the army and put his new creatures in their places. None dare murmur for fear of being dealt with as traitors. If any one offend he is shot without ceremony.

*This despicable predatory warfare carries on its face the family-likeness of that power whose admiralty-court ridiculed the *new philosophy*, and commended pillage.—Hear Franklin’s list of those who ought to be exempt.—

“1. Cultivators of the earth, because they labor for the subsistence of mankind.

“2. Fishermen for the same reason.

“3. Merchants and traders in unarmed ships, who accommodate different nations by communicating and exchanging the necessities and conveniences of life.

“4. Artists and mechanics, inhabiting and working in open towns.

“It is hardly necessary to add, that the hospitals of enemies should be unmo-
lested—they ought to be assisted. It is for the interest of humanity in general, that the occasions of war and the *inducements* to it should be diminished.—If rapine be abolished, one of the encouragements to war is taken away; and peace therefore more likely to continue and be lasting.” Nations would have agreed on the majority of these propositions before this time, if the influence of England had not stopped the progress of *civilization*.—To maintain her monopoly and maritime supremacy, and to spread her dominion, she has leagued against all the “Rights of Man,”—set up superstition, established despotic power over Europe, and plunged modern nations in the barbarity of past ages.

"If San Martin and his army were out of the country, and the people united, I should consider Chili as completely emancipated. O'Higgins is a brave and good man, and a sound patriot;* but he is surrounded by the tools of San Martin, and is completely at their mercy."—The influence acquired with the director and *patriots* in so short a time by the republican judge ———, in the face of a host, evinces what patriotic zeal can effect. A North-American who does not speak and act there with republican ardor is regarded as a monster.

* This has never been doubted; but his want of ability has ever made him the dupe and the instrument of the artful. Doubtless, the disgraceful surrender in spring 1814, was the work of designing, corrupt men around him. The aristocrats made use of him against the *Carreras*.

APOLOGETICAL POSTSCRIPT.

It has occurred to me—like some other considerations perhaps rather late.*—that I ought to assign my reasons for turning aside to censure forensic sophistry or judicial assumption. If the latter be the natural fruit of the former, the disease ought to be attacked in the germ, else our liberties are blighted, and the constitution may become an empty sound—Law questions I leave to persons as competent as yourself; but those arising under a plain constitution, every intelligent man may comprehend and compare. It was framed to circumscribe power; but it is often made to confer *illimitable* and discretionary powers.—Some of our profoundest lawyers laugh at the idea of a paper-guarantee: they insinuate that every barrier will be constructively overleaped, the gates unbarred, and the *judicial circle extended to embrace all the rest*. Admitting this to be founded, I could not but be alarmed at the suction of a vortex which would indicate a bottomless abyss. Perhaps the luminaries mistake.

Judge COOPER, a gentleman of universal science, and of great erudition as a lawyer, suggests the opinion that written guaranties are fragile and nugatory. "But in *that* country [England] the high character and station of the judges, and the great confidence so universally and (a few instances excepted) so deservedly reposed in them, and the attention due to the opinion of the bar, as well as of the bench—*form a public safeguard of great practical importance: a much more efficacious one than the FARCE of a WRITTEN CONSTITUTION in this country*, which every party, bold and unprincipled in proportion to its ignorance, construes and misconstrues, uses and abuses, as the temptation of the moment may happen to dictate." *Cooper's Justinian*, page 631.

This is extraordinary doctrine. If perverted construction has widened judicial jurisdiction for uncounted leagues beyond the bourne of the constitutional one, we ought not to abolish a "written constitution" on that account, but clip the wing of assumption. He prescribes as a

*The preceding letter had been printed off before I thought of this.

remedy our surrender to the disease.—If an unruly ass or an ungovernable horse break into my enclosure, would it not be better to *turn them out, and strengthen the fence*, than to pull it down in despair, and suffer all the beasts of the neighbourhood to trample my clover, and browse upon my shrubbery?—Where reason is left free, errors may be repaired; and therefore I disagree with the celebrated commentator on Justinian. We have resources of safety under this constitution, and in the general intelligence which *may* drive back transgressors into the pale of delegated power. And this is the excellence of our system, that none can *long* pretend to infallibility and supremacy. Society never parts with its sovereignty, and ought to resume what every species of agents attempt to fritter away or to transfer.—I deny also, that the bar and bench of England *have* formed “a public safeguard” for freedom: they have commonly been the instruments of tyranny, the authors of encroachments, and the pandars of the court. COKE the greatest, ablest of them all, was the obsequious tool of corruption and a firebrand of persecution, until despotism and corruption were levelled at *himself*. He then resisted arbitrary power with ingenuity and vigour. In all countries we find human nature the same: every *order* grasp at *political power*, when they can do it under pleas that secure impunity. *The church and the bar have displayed the same ambition*—have lent themselves to tyranny, when they could not tyrannize themselves. We must watch them: In a monarchy, errors are almost eternal; in a republic, they are corrigible.

Professor COOPER might be quoted against himself—in his reply to Burke, and in his *eulogium* on our federal constitution contained in Priestley’s Memoirs. I hope the divine instrument there is no “farce” here!

Again. “There is no reply to be made to the arguments in favor of republicanism over monarchy: in theory they are triumphant. *But*, in practice there are objections that may give occasion to a considerate man to pause: especially where under the influence of universal suffrage, the ignorance of the community is almost exclusively represented, and wisdom and wealth are held in equal distrust.”—*ib.* 633.

In plain English,—Monarchy with all its defects, is preferable perhaps to our frame of representative government. I am not of this opinion. And though wisdom may cry in our streets, wealth is too apt to acquire great influence. A few abuses do not disprove the general excellence of our system. Whatever invasions happen, the gentlemen of the bar are employed to give them plausibility.—Of them we have cause to beware by their own account.

I had made many annotations to justify opinions expressed in this letter. I had seen many things decided as *contracts* which were destitute of every principle necessary to constitute them such, whether we regard *parties, purpose, assent, or equivalents*.—But it belongs not to my plan to dwell upon them here. They are of too great magnitude.—I am satisfied in bringing the subject before you, and to you I resign it. That representative body, in which you ought to have much influence, will probe the allegations to the bottom, (as I hope) and adopt proper measures. If there be foundation for the charges, I trust that they will

not slumber over them.—And so I dismiss that topic,---turning for a moment to other parts of the theme.

Others, however, ought *not* to be deterred from forming “written constitutions,” even if the sophisters have occasionally tugged and stretched, and abridged our own. Extravagance has spread alarm, and is about to correct itself. The poor people of GERMANY and RUSSIA would be happy, if they could extort such a guarantee from their masters. SPAIN would be happy: FRANCE would deem herself stable; and England avert a revolution by such a reform. I am still willing to regard the invention of letters as *divine*---were it only because it has given birth to a “written constitution.”---If Europe is scourged by *independent* kings, any other country would be scourged by *independent* judges, or independent officers of any description.---Within society, --- (and the very term society denotes internal dependence and *collective* independence,) the phrase is foolish, deceptive, extravagant and iniquitous. No *agent* can safely be independent of, or uncontrollable by his constituents. Responsibility is the virtue and the power by which public functionaries are held within their orbit. Responsible kings, responsible chiefs, responsible representatives, responsible judges, can alone be harmless, useful, or trustworthy. Were the miserable people of Europe to draw the claws of their kings, hierarchs and nobility, ---and reduce the monsters to men, they might play with those dread animals as with tame rattlesnakes,---that are deprived of their fangs and venom.---For farther illustration, I may add, that a robber is a person who throws off the shackles of law, and strives to render himself *independent* of society: and so of all culprits round. They endeavor by a centrifugal force to escape from local restraint and from the social sphere. A great king sets himself above society by fraud or might, or the “grace of God.” If other stewards of any denomination can separate themselves from social dependence on any pretence, the principle and consequence are comparatively the same.---A government of laws is displaced by the hocus-pocus of construction; and the general representative will be thus set completely at nought.

To hasten that reform, which is feared by the despisers of *written constitutions* in South America, or derided by some learned gentlemen here, I shall exhibit the pretensions of the pettifoggers in full relief, in shape of their own harangue. But it is for pettifoggers alone—not for liberal lawyers, or politicians of reading and common sense. Who knows but it may weaken the force of that assuetude which they so artfully propagate?—Who knows but it may turn an eye of jealousy on those ceaseless efforts which we witness to establish a government over the people, but *independently* of them?

“*Messieurs plebeïans*,---Why do you at times appear so gloomy and disconsolate? You are the happiest mortals that ever trod the stage of life. Every thing is done for you, and you are kindly relieved of all solid concern in legislation, government, and the administration of justice. We allow you as much participation in those things as is beneficial to yourselves and us. Lawyers are created to protect you, and consequently ordained to rule you. The end confers the means. Dismiss all your cares: five or six judges can think for you all,---assisted

as they are by tens of thousands of counsellors, and supported by your *implicit faith*.—Till your fields; sow, reap and mow;—pursue your commerce; think of amusement and labor, but avoid the useless labor of thinking. It is far more reasonable,—you may rest assured of it,—that half a dozen should guide and govern a nation, than that a nation should delegate prescribed duties to half a dozen of eminent citizens. There is but one centre of light for the whole circle of planets; one sun, but numerous moons. You are the opaque, we the luminous bodies. It is a fallacy then,—nay, a damnable heresy, to suppose that the greater number govern the lesser: no; no; the precedents of all nations declare the reverse. The lesser bedazzle and controul the greater; and you must not presume to alter this settled order of the moral world. Confide in us; we are always ready, for a fair fee, to counsel and console you. What more could you possibly require? By constructions and glosses we will furnish you with laws. We'll manufacture for your accommodation as rare a constitution as you could make, or meet in a summer's day. True it is, your representatives have the name of enacting statutes; but, they are totally transformed or refracted in passing through the medium of our courts. It is no objection that our code becomes formless. The Deity himself is conceived to be amorphous.—It is as vain to argue that laws should emanate wholly from the general will, as to insist that children should be indulged in their whimsical inclinations. Nations like infants are spoiled by too much liberty. No; no; genuine laws issue like oracles from the mouths of judges and "special attorneys." You are mistaken, gentlemen; it is *finally* for lawyers to make laws; for shoemakers to make shoes; for tailors to make breeches, and for grave-diggers to make graves. You know not what light is until it is refracted and transmitted through the lawyer-lens and prism. (What right had Paine to think, or Monterosa to comment?) You cannot complain of deception: all your predecessors liked to be deceived. They did not dive into mysteries, but like good people believed whatever the parson enjoined or the lawyer expounded—except among Anglo-Saxons &c. who settled all their contests civil and criminal by battle or by jury. That monstrosity we soon dissipated—and took the law into our own hand. What sort of a world would it be, if all the inhabitants were quakers? Neither lawsuits nor wars! O Mercury! what would then become of lawyers? what would become of priests? not one of them would ever chaunt a *Te Deum laudamus!* Our forefathers (now in glory) were not so superhumanly unreasonable: and would you forget the wisdom, and depart from the sanctified usage of your ancestors? Rather "let chaos come again!" What new-fangled philosophy like a hedge-hog has crept into some of your skulls, and sharply served hoary custom (the venerable old tenant!) with a writ of ejectment! It is the business of the multitude, we tell you, to hear and obey. Be silent, and submit yourselves to the higher powers. We are the guardians appointed by fate to take care of you. And who so fit for the paternal task of superintendence as verbal critics and etymologists like us, who can acutely resolve *slavery* itself into a mere word, and words into letters, and letters into sounds?—We can demonstrate that *diffusion* of servitude is quite contrary to the *extension* of

it,—one implying circular, the other rectilinear motion. We can even show that extension is the direct road towards abolition; and we can prove, that *just* and *impartial*, though vulgarly deemed to be closely related, never belonged to the same household. When *expedient* we can show that controlling all is not governing all. We can convince any body, except a sceptic, that *equity* and law are not cousin-germans: that the former is simple as the homespun dress of a quaker, but the other a dandified, party-colored, variable, fashionable buck, adapted to *Bond-street* or *Broadway*. One is intelligible and unchangeable, the other as fickle as an April day. We are his barbers, and dress and shave him seven times a day: for he pays us like a prince,—and answers all our purposes.---The nobility have often labored to rescue him from our tutelage, and take him under their own---but we outflanked them in Pennsylvania, where they were ignorant of manœuvres; and the example has affrighted others. We have him now entirely at our disposal. When expéditions have been fitting out against us, we dispersed them by dividing the members. We assured them that the *people never hold any thing in veneration which they understand*; and therefore, law must be a mystery like religion. Who can reproach the priest or the lawyer for taking advantage of this foible? *If men love to be cheated, they will be cheated*. Our strength consists principally (if I must confess it) in others' weakness. Hence, diversion is always in our power: we can distract combinations whenever we please.

Are our *prerogatives* menaced with attack?—We adroitly and assuasively convince the multitude that it is *their rights* which are in danger. Thus we meet popular clamour, as the devout friar began his sermon, with cries of *Fire! Fire! Fire!* We can spring our rattles and ring our alarm-bells, and confound the people.—We can all march at the signal, as if we had but one pair of legs amongst the corps.

Formerly we harbored some uneasiness lest legislature should prove restive; but they soon received our bitts and consented to our rein. Principles were drowned in usage, more effectually than the fly in Burgundy; and we are not in the least afraid of a resurrection.

Party-spirit, party-names, and party-rage are of inestimable service to us. They keep up delusion and mislead the people from principles to names; we can play on the rabble in this manner as easily as a blacksmith blows his bellows, or a flute player touches his flute. By this glorious fragility of human nature, our chef d'œuvre succeeds to a miracle; and *we make the boobies believe that a victory over freedom is the triumph of freedom*—When they are thus bewildered and confused, we leave them to abuse and maul each other like ships or armies thrown into disorder in a night-attack. Party is our life; because we are courted by both sides, and govern both. If the people *do* recover their senses, they are rendered so timid by defeats, and distrustful by feuds, that they can never cordially coalesce again.—Submit, then, I say, to your *legal* and legitimate masters. You behold undoubted proofs of our superiority in the dexterity with which we baffle the reformers by *secretly* hurling a brand amongst themselves. We marvelously address them from various quarters with such counterfeit *christian-like* exhortations as would not dishonor the adroitest ventriloquist;

and the credulous go off under as full persuasion as a famed assemblage of crusaders that it was the voice of God.---The wiser few stand frustrate, perplexed, and bewitched. They can neither denude nor decorate us. Though they execrate us for a while, they return like good children and kiss the rod against which they had for a moment rebelled. In this repentant mood, we impress our *credo* on their melted souls.--We tell them very gravely that perfection is not attainable in this world, but that all accounts will be balanced in the next. And thus, like the *kings* of Europe (fine *independent* fellows! that they are,) we postpone reformation till the day of judgment,---greatly to their ease and our conveniency.

Give over your schemes gentlemen; you pursue a phantom. If the government of *judges* formerly prepared a disappointed and disgusted people to bow their necks to the yoke of kings,---preferring *one* master to a *swarm*,---never mind it at present. Things must run their course: they who are anointed to reign, must rule you.---Wherefore should not judges "govern those who govern all the rest?" Have they not received as broad a patent in law as pontiffs in religion? And whom *these* bind on earth you are told, will not be unbound in heaven. How are we to hold the balance of power, (to say *no more*) without *equal prerogatives* with *other orders*? I dislike the late motion to enquire into *our numbers*.---A registry of *litigation* would look as awkwardly as the invoice of Wolsey's plate.---It would show our income, scent the way to our den, and afford a clue to our power. It would oblige us to erect another mound or play off another stratagem. But our friends parried the blow, crippled the census, and saved us some trouble.---You see our supremacy at every turn. Dispute not for sway with the "superior powers."---But, be content to occupy the second place.

'Tis *next* to conqu'ring wisely to submit.

"I forgot, Messrs. Clients, to apprise you of another resource we have in "*stress of weather*."---When people are heated with anger at abuses, and threaten to *return* to first principles, we have an infallible specific to stop their flight, and cool the *tetes exaltés*:---in the technical language of the trade, it is called COMPROMISE. We mix *black* and *white*, green and blue, aristocratical principles and democratic elements, monarchy and jacobinism, in such proportions that nothing of the original appears, and the trick is never perceived till it is too late. By this operation, we seldom fail to confound and sicken our antagonists; who feeling a sense of nausea, run off and leave the whole compound to ourselves, who enjoy our victory over simplicity, and analyze it again at leisure. I won a great quantity of *salt* and *sugar* the other day *secundum artem*,---the *peasant* running off with the ugliest face I ever saw; and swearing as he came back, that our legerdmain gained us the whole pudding with the bare cost of casting in an addled egg.---Another countryman *swore* that it reminded him of a dirty comparison he had read in an English poet:

As when some demirep has thrown
His snivel in the dish, 'tis all his own.

Messieurs peasants,---I acknowledge that this is a disgusting illus-

illustration; but you will confess that it is a strong one. I shall atone for the sin of indelicacy by relating a *case of compromise which actually took place at sea*, in regard to a profession very like our own; for, if gospel is not always law, law is always gospel.

During the cruize of captain ***** of the Buenos-Ayrean privateer ———, which came into this port to refit, the captain intercepted a Spanish vessel having on board some Spanish-American priests of the *independent* party, who were sailing to Spain as prisoners, and very much against their wills. They were released from the jaws of death; and treated with the greatest kindness and hospitality; captain ——— possessing all the generosity and urbanity of a *first-rate* American commander.—Soon after the recapture of this cargo of *padres* a seaman fell from one of the yards, and was killed.—The crew being mustered to pay the last testimonials of respect to a brother tar, whose corpse was sewed up in due form in a hammock, a 12lb. shot at his feet and about to be committed to that deep (“where sleep the bravest of the brave,”) the principal priest was requested to officiate as chaplain,—but he refused,—conscientiously refused—obstinately refused. He would not grant a passport to paradise, I suppose, for one of a different creed.—The deceased tar was solemnly launched into his chosen element;—and I presume steered his way to the “place appointed for all living,” as exactly as an archbishop. But his messmates,—how disdainfully did they scowl and lour upon the priests! They damned their eyes, but those black and bloody b*****, had occasioned the gale, and were the cause of Jacks’s death, and proposed throwing them overboard at once; for there would never be luck or a fair wind while there was one of them in the ship—they would be haunted with ghosts and chased by sharks to the end of the cruize.—The captain was likewise piqued, and threatened to put the priest on board the first Spaniard he should overhaul.—It was not difficult for a *padre* to espy the storm that was brewing; and he meditated how to disperse it before it should burst in wrath upon his devoted head.—His sagacity pointed out the genuine method of pacification. He respectfully craved a conference with the captain; said in the meekest manner, that he found to his great surprize and chagrin, the dissatisfaction he had unconsciously given,—took all the saints to witness, male and female, that it had been misconception not wilfulness on his side—he did not well understand the seamen’s language, but could easily read their *expressive looks*. He had only declined, lest his clerical ceremony should give offence,—and for nothing else in the world. “But; if it will appease them and yourself, said he, I declare before God and his ever Blessed Mother, that I will bury you all as fast as you die.”—They saw plainly that in offers, vows and promises no mortal man could go farther: they accepted the *compromise*, and were pacified like innocent children. The surly tar that had threatened to heave him into the sea, would now have jumped overboard to save the “ghostly father.” And the advantages were all on the priest’s side: he would receive their good offices through life on the bare promise of burying them after death.—So easy is it by a little finesse to still a storm by *compromise*,—which may mean any thing or nothing, as our right to interpret is always reserved, or implied, or assumed. I see some of you shake your heads at a *compromise that ends in death*—

but to this condition you must come sooner or later.—There is great harmony in it.

“I know some of you are trifling enough, at the prophecy of a European bishop, and the prospect of monarchy before us.* You must bow to fate, complaints against *clientage* and *dependency* notwithstanding. It is true that our myriads of banks propagate subserviency, each in its circle; and that the “elect,” or lawyers hold the body of inhabitants as *clientels*. But, it is our inheritance, as I have shown you.—These practices may prepare a throne, as its foundation is laid—And has not Europe her thrones? has not Asia her thrones? and do *you* not daily *enthroned your idols*?—do you not part with all your power and confidence to your favorites?—Why then do you grumble, if they so tenaciously hold what you set no price on?—Why would you be singular?—What, if you destroy the elective franchise, and annihilate the representative system? You will still have patrons or lawyers to redress all your grievances.—We thrive best in monarchies. And let me tell you. If liberty must die, a galloping consumption is better than a slow one.—Die what may, let your superiors, the lawyers, live and flourish forever! So never fear!”

I hope you will acknowledge, my friend, that this is a candid speech—extremely guileless and authentic.—True it is, theoretically, there are no higher powers than the sovereign people, the legitimate *fountain* of all authority. Orders of men speak in the supercilious spirit of the corps: and much allowance is to be made for the arrogant tone of persons intoxicated with power and grown giddy by an elevation,—from which they look down on the abject world as their footstool and domain.

I do not include all the learned corps with the herd of pretenders; neither do I hint that precedent has *not* its *use* in elucidating the vague mass of *common law* as dispersed among reported adjudications: but to apply such rules and dogmas where the CONSTITUTION speaks, is worse than sacrilege. Violation is not a pattern of interpretation for that instrument. Its obligation is as imperative *now*, (and will I trust remain as binding forever) as when it was first adopted. One transgression does not warrant another. A line of violators are not a constitutional or “public safeguard.” The quibbles of courts are no rule for legislation, but pests to be shunned.—These are tenets which I would undertake to maintain against *Cicero* himself: and in this position I contend for a “written constitution,” gainsay it who will.

Jest as professional wranglers may about human interests; and joke as we will at the *ludicrous pretences* or the moustrous logick by which the few contrive to steal away the inheritance of the many,—it is a “*farce*” that if unchecked must end in *tragedy*. For, the succession of events in real life differs greatly from the routine of the playhouse.—It is *farcical* enough to suppose that we cannot understand *our own speech* without professional interpreters!—You and I find no difficulty in fathoming each other’s meaning though we write without restraint. We know something of our mother tongue, and have *no motive* to be

*Alluding to De Pradt’s prediction, that when the United States become populous, they will separate; or rather, will be formed into a monarchy. A readiness to *compromise rights* and barter principles, is a bad symptom.

ambiguous. Cannot laws be passed with equal plainness? What necessity for CONTINUAL *interpretation*?—"Important Decision,--Important Law-case"—daily catch our eye in staring capitals. Is the *miracle* so conspicuous, and why?--Was it not law before? Was it never promulgated? or, does it suddenly flow from a *discretionary* officer, instead of springing from the general will?—Do my friend---do ponder this momentous matter in your mind. I hope we shall live to see our own deviations rectified,---the *independence of agents* exploded, good constitutions established in Spanish America, and the enemies of human happiness confounded.

I say nothing of past diseases, and the shock they have given our half-shattered constitution. The traces of the funding system, of British influence, and of party-madness, of *bank-shoals*, and political prostitution or shipwreck, are more visible than the marks of small-pox. The body politic has been likened to an invalid that cannot survive another excess. But, surely this is false!

Since I am correcting erroneous impressions, I may as well repeat a caution on the authorship of the "Outline," already mentioned. D. Andres Bello and Jonte were its authors; receiving articles from South American agents in London; the part relating to Chili is mostly a malevolent fabrication.

I may as conveniently state at the same time—the substance of a note I have seen concerning the Secretary's absurd notion of the "gloominess of colonial faith and the savage nature of the inhabitants of the plains."—A juster commentary I believe, was never made than that which follows:

"Reviewing the character of the inhabitants of La Plata, I can find no authority to justify the attribute of barbarousness.—Born beneath a most benignant sky, and surrounded on every side with the finest gifts of nature, they learn contentment gaiety and complacency from the cradle. A relish for society, love of pleasure and hospitality are retained through life.—Descending from European Spaniards, they inherited the civilization of their ancestors, and have become gentler, more humane and generous; from the influence of climate, and the state of society.—The Romish religion as now preached and practised, without fanaticism or much superstition, promotes patience, charity or cheerfulness. It may sometimes make a man passive and pusillanimous, but never renders him savage. In great emergencies men act from honor and feeling, and become resolute as the stronger passions overcome the weaker.—The Catholic is one of the merriest creeds in the world; and our voyager must have confessed it, if he had understood the number and character of their religious festivals. "*Carnival time*" is become a proverb; when the people riggish in their fancy &c. seek a thousand kind of sports, frolicks, *divertisement* and fun. To be gloomy *then* is no venial sin; and they "laugh like parrots at a bagpiper." The amusements of the theatre are not wanting; dancing and the charms of sprightly conversation are not forgotten; nor the witchery of music, as our voyager observed at the *tertulias* of Mr. E.———. There is almost equal gaiety in masking and mimicry, on the DIA DE LOS INNOCENTES, when the younger folks play all the anticks possible, to the diversion of the old.—CORPUS CRISTI day is another renewal of hilarity and public glee.—So that without saying a word of the more essential parts of their religion, enough is said to show that "gloominess of faith" is inapplicable to the South-Americans.—Be it used or abused as it may, it is *any* thing but "gloomy." Their own writers have denounced censure on the tendency of *confession*,—the PADRE'S BANK, which creates dependency in every parishioner, and makes the priest chief counsellor, treasurer and dictator: but, this is not our concern. If their creed seem strange to us, our religious "hubbubs" would seem frenzy to them. Which has the "beam in his eye," I'll not decide—I will reiterate the cheery nature of their belief and jovial temper.—*Corpe diem* is their blithe motto; which a witty friend, to whom abstinence was preached in an attack of the gout, thus translated: "A man may as well *die* as *not live*."

His apology for tyranny is dissipated; and he ends as he begins, with folly, untruth, malice or perversion.

and the credulous go off under as full persuasion as a famed assemblage of crusaders that it was the voice of God.---The wiser few stand frustrate, perplexed, and bewitched. They can neither denude nor decorate us. Though they execrate us for a while, they return like good children and kiss the rod against which they had for a moment rebelled. In this repentant mood, we impress our *credo* on their melted souls.---We tell them very gravely that perfection is not attainable in this world, but that all accounts will be balanced in the next. And thus, like the *kings* of Europe (fine *independent* fellows! that they are,) we postpone reformation till the day of judgment,---greatly to their ease and our conveniency.

Give over your schemes gentlemen; you pursue a phantom. If the government of *judges* formerly prepared a disappointed and disgusted people to bow their necks to the yoke of kings,---preferring *one* master to a *swarm*,---never mind it at present. Things must run their course: they who are anointed to reign, must rule you.---Wherefore should not judges "govern those who govern all the rest?" Have they not received as broad a patent in law as pontiffs in religion? And whom *these* bind on earth you are told, will not be unbound in heaven. How are we to hold the balance of power, (to say *no more*) without *equal prerogatives* with *other orders*? I dislike the late motion to enquire into *our numbers*.---A registry of *litigation* would look as awkwardly as the invoice of Wolsey's plate.---It would show our income, scent the way to our den, and afford a clue to our power. It would oblige us to erect another mound or play off another stratagem. But our friends parried the blow, crippled the census, and saved us some trouble.---You see our supremacy at every turn. Dispute not for sway with the "superior powers."---But, be content to occupy the second place.

'Tis *next* to conqu'ring wisely to submit.

"I forgot, Messrs. Clients, to apprize you of another resource we have in "*stress of weather*."---When people are heated with anger at abuses, and threaten to *return* to first principles, we have an infallible specific to stop their flight, and cool the *tetes exaltés*:---in the technical language of the trade, it is called *COMPROMISE*. We mix *black* and *white*, green and blue, aristocratical principles and democratic elements, monarchy and jacobinism, in such proportions that nothing of the original appears, and the trick is never perceived till it is too late. By this operation, we seldom fail to confound and sicken our antagonists; who feeling a sense of nausea, run off and leave the whole compound to ourselves, who enjoy our victory over simplicity, and analyze it again at leisure. I won a great quantity of *salt* and *sugar* the other day *secundum artem*,---the *peasant* running off with the ugliest face I ever saw; and swearing as he came back, that our legerdemain gained us the whole pudding with the bare cost of casting in an addled egg.---Another countryman *swore* that it reminded him of a dirty comparison he had read in an English poet:

As when some demirep has thrown
His snivel in the dish, 'tis all his own.

Messieurs peasants,---I acknowledge that this is a disgusting illus-

M

illustration; but you will confess that it is a strong one. I shall atone for the sin of indelicacy by relating a *case of compromise which actually took place at sea*, in regard to a profession very like our own; for, if gospel is not always law, law is always gospel.

During the cruize of captain ***** of the Buenos-Ayrean privateer ———, which came into this port to refit, the captain intercepted a Spanish vessel having on board some Spanish-American priests of the *independent* party, who were sailing to Spain as prisoners, and very much against their wills. They were released from the jaws of death; and treated with the greatest kindness and hospitality; captain ——— possessing all the generosity and urbanity of a *first-rate* American commander.—Soon after the recapture of this cargo of *padres* a seamen fell from one of the yards, and was killed.—The crew being mustered to pay the last testimonials of respect to a brother tar, whose corpse was sewed up in due form in a hammock, a 12lb. shot at his feet and about to be committed to that deep (“where sleep the bravest of the brave,”) the principal priest was requested to officiate as chaplain,—but he refused,—conscientiously refused—obstinately refused. He would not grant a passport to paradise, I suppose, for one of a different creed.—The deceased tar was solemnly launched into his chosen element;—and I presume steered his way to the “place appointed for all living,” as exactly as an archbishop. But his messmates,—how disdainfully did they scowl and lour upon the priests! They damned their eyes, but those black and bloody b*****, had occasioned the gale, and were the cause of Jacks’s death, and proposed throwing them overboard at once; for there would never be luck or a fair wind while there was one of them in the ship—they would be haunted with ghosts and chased by sharks to the end of the cruize.—The captain was likewise piqued, and threatened to put the priest on board the first Spaniard he should overhaul.—It was not difficult for a *padre* to espy the storm that was brewing; and he meditated how to disperse it before it should burst in wrath upon his devoted head.—His sagacity pointed out the genuine method of pacification. He respectfully craved a conference with the captain; said in the meekest manner, that he found to his great surprize and chagrin, the dissatisfaction he had unconsciously given,—took all the saints to witness, male and female, that it had been misconception not wilfulness on his side—he did not well understand the seamen’s language, but could easily read their *expressive looks*. He had only declined, lest his clerical ceremony should give offence,—and for nothing else in the world. “But; if it will appease them and yourself,” said he, I declare before God and his ever Blessed Mother, that I will bury you all as fast as you die.”—They saw plainly that in offers, vows and promises no mortal man could go farther: they accepted the *compromise*, and were pacified like innocent children. The surly tar that had threatened to heave him into the sea, would now have jumped overboard to save the “ghostly father.” And the advantages were all on the priest’s side: he would receive their good offices through life on the bare promise of burying them after death.—So easy is it by a little finesse to still a storm by *compromise*,—which may mean any thing or nothing, as our right to interpret is always reserved, or implied, or assumed. I see some of you shake your heads at a *compromise that ends in death*—

but to this condition you must come sooner or later.—There is great harmony in it.

“I know some of you are tristful enough, at the prophecy of a European bishop, and the prospect of monarchy before us.* You must bow to fate, complaints against *clientage* and *dependency* notwithstanding. It is true that our myriads of banks propagate subserviency, each in its circle; and that the “elect,” or lawyers hold the body of inhabitants as *clients*. But, it is our inheritance, as I have shown you.—These practices may prepare a throne, as its foundation is laid—And has not Europe her thrones? has not Asia her thrones? and do *you* not daily *enthron* your idols?—do you not part with all your power and confidence to your favorites?—Why then do you grumble, if they so tenaciously hold what you set no price on?—Why would you be singular?—What, if you destroy the elective franchise, and annihilate the representative system? You will still have patrons or lawyers to redress all your grievances.—We thrive best in monarchies. And let me tell you. If liberty must die, a galloping consumption is better than a slow one.—Die what may, let your superiors, the lawyers, live and flourish ferever! So never fear!”

I hope you will acknowledge, my friend, that this is a candid speech ---extremely guileless and authentic.---True it is, theoretically, there are no higher powers than the sovereign people, the legitimate *fountain* of all authority. Orders of men speak in the supercilious spirit of the corps: and much allowance is to be made for the arrogant tone of persons intoxicated with power and grown giddy by an elevation,---from which they look down on the abject world as their footstool and domain.

I do not include all the learned corps with the herd of pretenders; neither do I hint that precedent has *not* its use in elucidating the vague mass of *common law* as dispersed among reported adjudications: but to apply such rules and dogmas where the CONSTITUTION speaks, is worse than sacrilege. Violation is not a pattern of interpretation for that instrument. Its obligation is as imperative *now*, (and will I trust remain as binding forever) as when it was first adopted. One transgression does not warrant another. A line of violators are not a constitutional or “public safeguard.” The quibbles of courts are no rule for legislation, but pests to be shunned.---These are tenets which I would undertake to maintain against *Cicero* himself: and in this position I contend for a “written constitution,” gainsay it who will.

Jest as professional wranglers may about human interests; and joke as we will at the *ludicrous pretences* or the moustrious logic by which the few contrive to steal away the inheritance of the many,---it is a “*farce*” that if unchecked must end in *tragedy*. For, the succession of events in real life differs greatly from the routine of the playhouse.---It is *farfical* enough to suppose that we cannot understand *our own speech* without professional interpreters!—You and I find no difficulty in fathoming each other’s meaning though we write without restraint. We know something of our mother tongue, and have *no motive* to be

* Alluding to De Pradt’s prediction, that when the United States become populous, they will separate; or rather, will be formed into a monarchy. A readiness to *compromise rights* and barter principles, is a bad symptom.

ambiguous. Cannot laws be passed with equal plainness? What necessity for CONTINUAL interpretation?—"Important Decision,—Important Law-case"—daily catch our eye in staring capitals. Is the *miracle* so conspicuous, and why?—Was it not law before? Was it never promulgated? or, does it suddenly flow from a *discretionary* officer, instead of springing from the general will?—Do my friend—do ponder this momentous matter in your mind. I hope we shall live to see our own deviations rectified,—the *independence* of *agents* exploded, good constitutions established in Spanish America, and the enemies of human happiness confounded.

I say nothing of past diseases, and the shock they have given our half-shattered constitution. The traces of the funding system, of British influence, and of party-madness, of *bank-shoals*, and political prostitution or shipwreck, are more visible than the marks of small-pox. The body politic has been likened to an invalid that cannot survive another excess. But, surely this is false!

Since I am correcting erroneous impressions, I may as well repeat a caution on the authorship of the "Outline," already mentioned. D. Andres Bello and Jonte were its authors; receiving articles from South American agents in London; the part relating to Chili is mostly a malevolent fabrication.

I may as conveniently state at the same time—the substance of a note I have seen concerning the Secretary's absurd notion of the "gloominess of colonial faith and the savage nature of the inhabitants of the plains."—A juster commentary I believe, was never made than that which follows:

"Reviewing the character of the inhabitants of La Plata, I can find no authority to justify the attribute of barbarousness.—Born beneath a most benignant sky, and surrounded on every side with the finest gifts of nature, they learn contentment gaiety and complacency from the cradle. A relish for society, love of pleasure and hospitality are retained through life.—Descending from European Spaniards, they inherited the civilization of their ancestors, and have become gentler, more humane and generous; from the influence of climate, and the state of society.—The Romish religion as now preached and practised, without fanaticism or much superstition, promotes patience, charity or cheerfulness. It may sometimes make a man passive and pusillanimous, but never renders him savage. In great emergencies men act from honor and feeling, and become resolute as the stronger passions overcome the weaker.—The Catholic is one of the merriest creeds in the world; and our voyager must have confessed it, if he had understood the number and character of their religious festivals. "*Carnival time*" is become a proverb; when the people riggish in their fancy &c. seek a thousand kind of sports, frolics, *divertisement* and fun. To be gloomy *then* is no venial sin; and they "laugh like parrots at a bagpiper." The amusements of the theatre are not wanting; dancing and the charms of sprightly conversation are not forgotten; nor the witchery of music, as our voyager observed at the *tertulias* of Mr. E.———. There is almost equal gaiety in masking and mimicry, on the DIA DE LOS INOCENTES, when the younger folks play all the anticks possible, to the diversion of the old.—CORPUS CRISTI day is another renewal of hilarity and public glee.—So that without saying a word of the more essential parts of their religion, enough is said to show that "gloominess of faith" is inapplicable to the South-Americans.—Be it used or abused as it may, it is *any* thing but "gloomy." Their own writers have denounced censure on the tendency of *confession*,—the PADRE'S BANK, which creates dependency in every parishioner, and makes the priest chief counsellor, treasurer and dictator: but, this is not our concern. If their creed seem strange to us, our religious "hubbubs" would seem frenzy to them. Which has the "beam in his eye," I'll not decide.—I will reiterate the cheery nature of their belief and jovial temper.—*Corpe diem* is their blithe motto; which a witty friend, to whom abstinence was preached in an attack of the gout, thus translated: "A man may as well die as *not live*."

His apology for tyranny is dissipated; and he ends as he begins, with folly, untruth, malice or perversion.

LETTER II.

COMMERCIAL AND POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF SOUTH AMERICAN EMANCIPATION, TO THE UNITED STATES,—with a few remarks on the geographical and statistical views of our learned “Secretary,” as they occur in chapters 2, 3, and 4, of the “*Voyage*” vol. II.

Baltimore, January 20th 1820.

My dear friend,

Let us banish (as far as the subject will admit) the bitter recollections of intrigue that tinged my former letter: let us forsake the prospect of ambitious collusion, and shun that labyrinth of plots where intricacy is unravelled only by guilty traces of secret slaughter:—let us if possible, forget bloody compacts, and make an excursion into the recreative walks of geography; or, at least let us loiter a while in the more important field of statistics and commerce. In either of these our “voyager” may be supposed unbiassed,—and he might have been free if he could not be faultless. Faction might have been shut out, and jarring passion dissipated in reflecting on the grandeur, the harmony or the bloom of nature—in her favorite abodes. There was nothing human or divine to perplex him—Perhaps *Artigas* was lecturing his horsemen on the best mode of conducting the *petite guerre*, or paternally chiding them for some past mistake, for he is too great a master of the human heart to deal in reproaches with simple, honest minds: perhaps he was conversing with the cidevant priest *Monterosa* about the “doctrines of Paine,”—on the degeneracy of mankind, who barter freedom for luxury or gold, or commerce, who basely renounce equal rights on a *false* promise of exemption from just contribution,—and exchange divine meditations for superstitious dogmas.—He doubtless knit his brow in scorn of the herd that suffer either merchants or lawyers to trade in their rights under hollow pretences; who allow kings to tread them in the dust; and resolved for himself rather to live in solitude than live without liberty.—Perhaps his very enemies were reposing from sacrifice, having left the *Potters-field* to lie fallow for a day;—and Charon no doubt took advantage of the unexpected holliday to caulk his crazy boat.—Perhaps the gods (heathenish ones of course,) were sporting as of old in Ethiopia, or some of them slyly *frolicking* on Mount Ida,—quite unconcerned about our events—leaving the “sons of men”—to “manage their own affairs in their own way.” Some think with old Epicurus and his foolish sect that it was always thus;—as they thought it derogatory to the dignity of deities to turn stewards, lacqueys, sentinels, or majordomos for inflated mortals, whom Saturn or Jupiter had gifted with eyes, ears, hands, feet, noses, nails, feelers, memory, reason and volition. Into this unfathomable, shoreless *pleito* I shall not thrust my poor scone or speculations; but refer you to the divines, who boldly cut whatever they cannot disentangle, and have a wider field of conquest than the Macedonian. I meant merely to tell you, that if none of the old *Olympian* crew sailed with the voyager, he

cannot blame their decrees, however fashionable it may be to arraign the stars for human foibles.

A theme so pleasant (and important too) as *geographico-commercial enquiry*, ought to have been met with welcome, and conducted with serenity. He has strangely hashed it up with party remarks.—I shall as carefully avoid his example as I can; while I regret the trouble of answering a book of *voyages and travels*, deficient even in the trite information that might have been collected among ourselves.

What can *such* travellers bring home
That is not to be learnt at Rome?
What politics or strange opinions,
That are not in our own dominions?
What *trade* from thence can *he* advance,
That has not been foreseen—perchance?—

There must be *matter* in the ramble worthy of investigation by the politician, and the mammonist to boot: and unskilled as I may be in such knowledge, I cannot be silent when persons *more* unskilful presume to officiate as statist and geographers. It is not travellers' tales that satisfy an inquisitive mind now-a-days. Fabulous stories of the influence of a river on the human voice and *disposition*, are out of date.* The tracks of commerce,—the population and products; the upshot of civil strife and foreign intrigue, or political issue of the pending struggle, engross all our thoughts. For information from thence we have now the nice fastidious palates of epicures, and will not gluttonously gobble up common garbage.—Causes, facts, controulling principles are the fare we covet.

To you, who are almost as conversant with the works of Herrera and Garcilaso, of Ulloa and Humboldt, as with the constitution of the United States; and nearly as familiar with Spanish American geography as with the alleys of your own garden;—to you, I have no need of enlarging, and no excuse for being tedious.—Our promenade will not be longsome, and may agreeably (but incidentally) reflect new light on revolutionary measures and pretensions.—Diffident of my own previous stock of knowledge on part of the subject, I have convinced myself from authentic books, and am grateful for access to a manuscript memoir, besides particular annotations, by gentlemen who have had good opportunities of ascertaining facts. In noting some principal points, I shall constantly and cheerfully defer to your steady judgment. In

*The water of La Plata is said to be very clear, and excellent for the lungs and wind, *inasmuch* that the people who live near it are said to have *very clear and melodious voices*, and to be generally inclined to musick." (See Postlethwayte's Dictionary, art. *Paraguay*, &c.)

This is an innocent anecdote compared with some of our Secretary's,—and we will agree to the poet's terms; "a good traveller is something at the latter end of a dinner; but, one that lies three-thirds, and uses a known truth to pass a thousand nothings with, should be once heard, and thrice beaten." And chief of the number is he in whose inhuman breast the destruction of a republic or of its defenders, cannot "change slander to remorse."

this humble exercise, I perform little more than the task of abridging, transcribing and translating.

The second and third chapters of the second volume, are dedicated to the geography, history and statistics of the country.—It was to have been expected that the writer would cite his authorities in this section of his work, especially where he dissents from other writers on a statistical subject—a subject of which precision is the life and soul.—Did he march on snow, I could trace him: had he urged his chorographical way among the tall herbage of the llanos, I could follow the vegetable wake till the bristling stalks recovered their erectness: but he has cunningly directed his stolen steps among treacherous sands which close behind him and leave scarce a vestige of his course. To scent him *there* is impossible; and I am only reminded of a parallel in the stories I have read of travellers in the deserts of Arabia, of Africa, or Peru.—It resembles Ulloa's dreary journey from Tumbez to Lima, which was principally performed in the night, to avoid the violent reflection of the sun's rays from the sandy surface: and the road was distinguished by the bones of mules which had sunk and perished under their burdens rather than by any path, which the breezes constantly effaced by blowing the waves of sand to a level, or raising others on the face of that singular ocean, where monotony itself subsists by uniform change.—However, if an author explores a new route, he cannot quote prior authority for the satisfaction of his readers: he himself becomes the fountain where they must slake their curious thirst.

He says p. 67, vol. II. that in glancing at the map of La Plata, it appears to be "*naturally* divided into six different sections: 1. The part "which lies on the east side of the Paraguay. 2d, That which lies *opposite* on the west side of the same river. 3. That which stretches "along the base of the Cordilleras," &c. &c.

As to the first, it is proper, because we have the river a natural boundary on one side, and the Portuguese limits on the other. The second is unnatural and improper because it is indefinite: we cannot distinguish where there is no difference: where *all* is pampa, or where *all* is mountain, where every thing is perfectly *homogeneous*. We can easily discern between the *side-walks* and *carriage-ways* in our streets; but we cannot so easily plant or even fancy a line in the middle of the thoroughfare. It would be as rational to say that the horizon which varies at every step is a "natural" boundary because it divides the visible from the invisible.—The prismatic colors of the rainbow are evanescent, because rain and sunshine do not always exist oppositely and contemporaneously; but are "*naturally divided*" in a philosophical sense, for the principles of refrangibility are eternal. Red will not be mistaken for violet; and the "*various bow*" is a partition while it lasts; but what visible mark does the eye encounter in unvarying clouds whence the radiant arch is withdrawn, or in plains outstretched like the ocean? In geography, space is not "*naturally divided*" but by natural boundaries,—as by mountains, rivers, rocks, deserts, morasses. Some *invariable* thing constitutes a landmark; a changeable one cannot. The Cordilleras are fixed, and so is the river: to these our tourist must refer his *reasoning*, which is as extraordinary in trivial as in momentous matters. His move-

able boundary is unintelligible. We do not moor the wharf to the ship, but the ship to the wharf. The eye reposes on the definite line of the Alps, but is distracted in the midst of boundless Pampas. These in themselves form a separate division; because they are terminated by heights or rivers. And Patagonia may be a natural division; because on the North we may suppose it circumscribed by the Rio Negro or Colorado; and elsewhere by seas, streights or mountains.—Yet these chapters are the *least exceptionable* of the whole book, and show some signs of industry, which has been thrown away for want of discrimination.

In page 114, vol. II. he gives us a statement of the population in the confederate and non-confederate provinces, and at page 148, an enumeration of the population in that part of Peru, annexed to the viceroyalty of Buenos-Ayres in 1778, and which he designates as the *Audience of Charcas*.^{*} At present, neither the inhabitants of the United Provinces, (i. e. subject to Buenos-Ayres) nor those of the provinces in hostilities with Buenos-Ayres, nor of the provinces detached from Peru, and now in possession of the enemy, correspond with the population assigned by modern writers and travellers to those several portions of the ancient viceroyalty of Buenos-Ayres.—If our *tourist* follows the *data* of anterior writers, why does he not adduce them?—

^{*} The establishment of the viceroyalty of Rio-de-la-Plata, which, as Funes says, opens an epoch in the annals of her provinces, remedied the great inconvenience of depending on the government of Lima, at a distance of 982 itinary leagues. It was indispensable in their hostilities with the Portuguese, to have a centre of authority and deliberation adjacent to the scene of action. The bounds of the new viceroyalty comprehend besides these provinces and that of Cuyo, all the territory of the audience of Charcas. (*Funes's Essay on the Civil History of Paraguay, Buenos-Ayres and Tucuman*, tom. III. chap. 12.)

The extent of the audience of Charcas is given by Ulloa, cap. 13, book VII.—“Its jurisdiction begins on the north side at the Vilcanota, belonging to the province of Lampa in the diocese of Cuzco, and reaches southward to Buenos-Ayres; eastward it extends to Brazil, being terminated by the meridian of demarcation; and westwardly part of it stretches to the South Sea, particularly at Atacama.—The remainder of it borders on the kingdom of Chili.—It therefore includes, under their antient extent, the great provinces of La Paz, Charcas proper, Potosi, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Tucuman, Paraguay and Buenos-Ayres.—By the map before you, as already referred to, you perceive all the new provinces formed within the limits of the old. They are elaborately traced and described in Bland's Report; which consult, from page 11 to 31 inclusive.—The government of Buenos-Ayres *claims* dominion over an area of territory not less than 1,305,000 square miles, with 1,300,000 inhabitants, exclusive of aborigines. See Mr. Tagle's note, marked D. page 108, annexed to Messrs. Rodney and Graham's Report. He divides it into 14 provinces; but his table (page 111—12) is a sample of the *claro-obscuro*, completely unintelligible.—The statistical table subjoined to Bland's Report on *Buenos-Ayres*, removes the uncertainty, and gives a pretty correct epitome of the bounds, population and productions of the country, at a single view.

For *statistical purposes* certainly, precise interior boundaries and subdivisions are not essential.—The whole space and population suffice.—It is immaterial, whether we have *Cuyo* set down, or its divisions Mendoza, San Juan and Rioja; whether we have Puno, or Santa Cruz de la Sierra and Mizque;—or whether this territory and population be distributed (as in a memoir before me) among Cochabamba, Potosi, Los Moxos and Chiquitos.—Let us but understand what an author means, and we shall never be squeamish about terms.

Or, if he dissents from them, why not tell us his reasons for it? He was only in *Buenos-Ayres*.—Who informed him that the population of that city was but 60,000? One could not learn the fact by merely residing 60 days in the town. Some have asserted, that it does not contain above 50,000 souls; others, that it exceeds 70,000.—Our voyager was not in the *dissident* or non-confederate provinces; nor in those of *Peru Alto*; from whence then did he deduce the fact of their having but 655,000 souls, and that his grand division of the audience of Charcas has 1,716,000?—He does not deign to inform us; and therefore, since we see him so destitute of support, we may reasonably conclude, that he has taken similar liberties in this part of the work as in others.—Let us investigate it a little farther:—

1st. He tells us that the population of the provinces *united* to Buenos-Ayres, or in other words, that of the *union*, obedient to what is there styled the *supreme government*, or general government of Rio-de-la Plata, is barely 465,000 souls.

According to him there is a population of 190,000 not only “not united,” but against the *union* [in the *Buenos-Ayres*’ sense of the term] so that we have a moiety of inhabitants opposed to the pretended union who added to the numerous partizans of the system of federalism (there styled disunion) even among the citizens under the government of Buenos-Ayres, really amount to a majority in favor of federalism. He relates that there are such, and we know the fact from the coercion used to unite them *blindly* to the car of the capital.

The great bulk of population in the audience of Charcas or Upper Peru, as given by him, is entirely under control of the royalists, and must consequently be reckoned *out of the union*. He says it rises to 1,716,000 souls. There appears *mirifical* superlatation in one place, reduction in another: something like arbitrary invention pervades the book, notwithstanding the contributions levied on other books.—The latest writer or compiler I had seen, estimates the inhabitants of this great division at 1,740,000. “The Indians alone amount to 1,155,000.” Our author did not even follow Pazos, who compiled in haste, though he intended to write accurately.

Total population according to our voyager,	2,371,000
Population of provinces <i>not united</i> ,	190,000
What he assigns to Charcas,	1,716,000
	<hr/>
	1,906,000
	<hr/>
Leaves us only in favor of the <i>Buenos-Ayrean union</i> .	465,000

Or, a small fraction more than one-fifth of the aggregate population. You can judge, my friend, whether this arithmetic justifies the pretensions of the present government of Buenos-Ayres, (or the great author himself!) to treat and to brand as *banditti* the citizens, who think differently from a combined *party* of military officers, bishops, clergy and monopolists. At the head of the adverse party we meet general Ar-

tigas, who appears to be seconded by Dean *Funes*, the historian, and the president of the congress of Buenos-Ayres.*

From these very data any man of impartial judgment would infer the policy—the necessity of a conciliatory tone on the part of a minority towards a majority so respectable. Moderation ought to have taken place of scandalous and violent criminations, both in the reigning party there and their echo here.—Decency and justice are indispensable in a majority: how impolitic then are indecent revilings and gross injustice in the smaller number! Interest prescribes conciliation. Do you survey the richer territory and commercial points of the east? They are in the hands of Paraguayans and Santa-Feans, or Orientalists, or in Entre-Rios, Corrientes or Guaraní missions. How stands the account of possession with the vast and diversified tracts to the north-west? Except a narrow stripe in the jurisdiction of *JURUY*, the whole superficies of the viceroyalty north of the *tropic of Capricorn*, is held by the enemy. This terrestrial paradise, more important from its mines and other advantages, than the continent of Europe, is too populous on its western side, to remain a province of Buenos-Ayres were she enabled to conquer it. *Warlike* as she is, she will be forced into a compromise.—When the rights of property and trade shall be respected, the commerce of all the *upper country* beyond the boatable branches of the Bermejo and Pilcomayo, will be attracted to the ports of the Pacific. Interdicts and bayonets cannot prevent what nature ordains. This is not a time for a solitary city, (if she understood her interests) to occlude mighty rivers, and harass whole provinces for a monopoly. A map would teach lessons to a statesman, but I know not what will convert a monopolist. If those magnificent streams no longer bear the barque of commerce, it is because the people on their banks will not bear tribute to Buenos-Ayres.

2dly. The first table at page 114, is erroneous. To the province of Buenos-Ayres it allots 120,000 souls, and 60,000 to the city. But, the population of the capital is 65,000; that of the province 125,000. Paraguay had been estimated to contain 180,000; and he reduces it without why or wherefore to 100,000. That of the Missions, which at the departure of the Jesuits consisted of 80,000 persons, is diminished to 40,000 and arbitrarily excluded from the jurisdiction of Artigas, when all the world knows that the missionary towns act in unison with the Banda Oriental, and consequently in obedience to general Artigas, the commander-in-chief. In short, the statistical data which I have obtained relative to those provinces are as follow: and it is to be hoped that our tourist will assign his reasons for rejecting them!

*“His interests and feelings attaching him to *Cordova*, his native place, he is inclined towards what is called here, the *federative system*,” p. 10, vol. II. It is worthy of note, that *Cordova* is a member though a reluctant one, of the existing union.

Provinces of Rio-de-la-Plata, &c.

With Ar- tigas.	Buenos-Ayres, . . .	125,000	With the royalists.	Tucuman, . . .	85,000
	Paraguay, . . .	180,000		Salta, . . .	125,000
	Banda Oriental, . . .	50,000		Potosi, . . .	200,000
	Entre-Rios, . . .	25,000		Charcas (proper) . . .	230,000
	Santa-Fe, . . .	30,000		Cochabamba, . . .	270,000
	Corrientes, . . .	40,000		La Paz, . . .	190,000
	Cordova, . . .	100,000		Moxos & Chiquitos, . . .	60,000
	Cuyo, . . .	110,000			
					Total population, . . . 1,820,000

Number of provinces, omitting minor dis-			} Indicating an excess on his part of 551,000 souls over the real enumeration.
tricts and subdivisions,	15		
Subject to Buenos-Ayres,	5		
Not united,	10		

His second table is also confused and defective. The capital of the province of Charcas, is not *Charcas*, (which elsewhere, at page 121, he calls *La Paz*!) but the city of *Chuquisaca* or *La Plata*. The settlement of the city and province is united to recollections remarkable enough to distinguish places by events:--their conquest by *Gonzalo Pizarro*, who invaded the territory in 1538, and the gallant resistance offered by the Carangues, who would have exterminated him but for the seasonable arrival of a reinforcement, sent to his relief by *Francisco Pizarro*. The new capital was founded in 1539 by *D. Pedro Anzures*, on the scite of the old, and called *Plata*, "in allusion to the silver mines of the mountain of Porco, in its neighbourhood, and from which the Incas received great quantities of silver; keeping in pay a great number of Indians for working them; but the primitive name of *Chuquisaca* has prevailed, and is now commonly used." (See *Ulloa's Voyage*, vol. II. page 143.) It was at the university of this city that *Dr. Mariano Moreno*, of Buenos-Ayres, completed his education; and his sufferings from a long and painful journey, no doubt stimulated the zeal by which he was signalized for promoting libraries and seminaries of learning in his native town.---*Chuquisaca* contains 18,000 souls at the lowest calculation, and the voyager gives it only 16,000. Its population has been increased; that of *Potosi* reduced; the first at the present day exceeding the last.---*Potosi* never had above 26,000 souls: he carries it to 35,000, notwithstanding its decline. On the authority of *Morse* and *Helms*, he might have placed it at 70,000, besides a train of 25 or 30,000 pongos and *mita-men*. But, *Dr. Moreno*, who resided so many years within 20 leagues of it, was better informed in this particular than a transient visitor like *Helms*, who knows more about mines than statistics.---(See *Life of Moreno*, page 81.)---I have read many a fable; I have seen the population of *Potosi* stated to have been 160,000 in 1611, and to have fallen to 30,000; and so it was gravely written, that Spain mustered a population of 30, 40 or 50,000,000 in the time of the Romans! but in modern days it scarcely exceeds 10 millions.---I do not insist too scrupulously on the authority for a statement in itself of no

moment.---It is only apparent that our voyager neither follows Canete, nor Wilcocke, nor Alcedo, nor Frezier.---See Pazos' Letters, 139--40. Perhaps then, the "Voyage" has some *originality* about it!

After all his endeavors at minuteness, he omits in the intendancy of Potosi, an enumeration of inhabitants in the two important districts of *Chichas* and *Tarija*. The former has a superficies of 48,000 square leagues, and 9 curacies, among them that of Santiago de Cotagaita, a place celebrated for the first battle fought between the patriots and the royalists of Peru. This jurisdiction produces annually (according to the Peruvian Mercury) from 400 to 480,000 dollars in silver, and \$100,000 in gold.—The district or province of *Tarija* has 4 curacies. Of this delightful region, the Peruvian Mercury of May 15, 1791, says, "It would require the pen of a Fenelon to describe the serenity of its sky and fine temperature of its climate, the beauty and fruitfulness of its plains, the abundance of its springs and rivers," &c.—With all their amenity and advantages, I am unwilling to have the *population* of these districts annihilated. Are we to add a census of them to his aggregate of inhabitants in the Intendancy of Potosi? (He has commemorated their *territory*, p. 128–130.) The number of a people, however, being less important than their quality and composition, I extract a few remarks on the subject from an unpublished Memoire already alluded to: The author has observed the influence of castes and commerce on revolutionary movements:—

"There was a time when all Spanish America, from Cape Horn to California was in a state of insurrection. Peru and Cuba were an exception to the general march, though Lima was not without commotion.

"We discover the causes of its abortion in Mexico from the character of the revolution itself, and the condition of the country. The lights of education, influence of opinion and power, the resources of mind and force of intelligence, are almost exclusively confined to the capital. But, insurrection, commencing in the provinces, and wholly supported by a people composed in general of Indians and labourers in the mines, would naturally be repugnant or odious to the wealthy and aristocratical classes in Mexico. Warfare in the interior against the original regulars or Spanish reinforcements was badly conducted: the patriots had soldiers in sufficient or excessive numbers; but they needed experience, and wanted arms and ammunition, which could only be had from without. That country being almost destitute of ports along the Atlantic, this deficiency could not be remedied; intercourse with foreign countries being kept up through Vera Cruz, the only *well-known*, accessible port,—and that has always been in possession of the royalists." [Several other anchorages, if not harbors, were noted by early navigators and settlers on the coast; but they seem to have fallen into disuse.]

"From the former course of commerce, a powerful influence was acquired by Buenos-Ayrès in Chili, which soon spread from mercantile interests to political opinions. Venezuela, (but in a much less degree) enjoyed the like with respect to New-Granada.—Connected by such a chain, the agitation of one must be communicated to the other. But, in Buenos-Ayres this moral action was still more remarkable by the necessary effect of peculiar circumstances—vicinity and intermixture of

their respective population,—the blending of ecclesiastical jurisdiction (even after the revolution) with the civil, and with the adjacent district. The wish to avoid the tempests of the Cape, as far as possible, made *Buenos-Ayres* an entrepot for the foreign commerce of Chili, by which were imported European manufactures and merchandize, negroes from Africa, [mostly destined for Peru] and yerba (matté) tobacco and cotton from Paraguay, in exchange for her precious metals and copper.—It is evident therefore, that under present circumstances, when those four great territorial divisions are revolutionized, Lima too, which is 2500 leagues removed from Europe, cannot continue her dependence on Spain. To the N. she will be cut off from the ports of Guayaquil and Panama;—to the S. from those of Chili: or, the revolution may reach her from both sides.

“The lower provinces of Buenos-Ayres are agricultural or pastoral. With the exception of Paraguay and its missions, an Indian is as rarely to be seen as in Philadelphia. Cultivators of the soil are peculiarly patriotic; and the nature of the population is favorable to independence. The situation of the country, and quality of its productions did not require an excessive influx of Africans, which renders revolution too doubtful or desperate in other provinces. Hardly a sixth part of the inhabitants are of this class. La Plata is widely remote from the apprehensions occasioned in Lima and Havana by a separate class, very formidable for their number. In her mining districts, she has no demand for negroes, because the Indians alone exercise the labour of the mines.

In the maritime provinces we meet with negroes, but no Indians; in the interior, Indians but no negroes. Considering the relative importance of classes by their aptitude for freedom, or by their civilization, we may thus distribute the population of all the provinces of Rio-de-La Plata:

Three-fourths of the whole—Spanish Americans.

One fourth-part—Indians and castes.”

The causes which have so materially reduced the mineral products of *Potosi* are circumstantially detailed in Moreno’s Memoirs, from p. 64 to 81, and might have been preferred to the conjectures in the “Voyage” 146—7: for, surely we cannot imagine our author uninformed of a book published in 1812!—For his purpose, the scarcity or abundance of metals, as affected by the revolution was out of the question, because a simpler reason was at hand: *Potosi is in the hands of the royalists; and the mines were but a short time in possession of the patriots.* Hence the exactions in Chili, and the eagerness to occupy Callao and Lima, by a naval and military force.—If Buenos-Ayres can conquer and hold those opulent countries as fiefs, her *pampa-city* (as it may be viewed) may be the queen of the south; if not, her native and principal exports will be hides. Under whatever power the vice-royalty falls, if the government protect industry by justice, the commercial resources of the people will be *immense*.

Don. A. Ulloa, and others conceived exaggerated notions of the *annual product* of the argentiferous mountain of *Potosi*, which for 93 years when first wrought they estimated at \$41,255,043 (lib. 7. ch. 13). Although *they* magnified the amount, little if any serious reliance can

be placed on the tables quoted by Humboldt, as exhibiting the real quantity extracted. (Essay on New-Spain, vol. III.) His data are inaccurate as the anecdotes he tells of Tupac-Amaru. Both are corrected by D. *Vicente Pazos*, who has given us a very *honest* and liberal book, if it be rather lacking in statistical details. He shows us, p. 144 why the quantity of metals has never been calculated, and the impossibility of forming a true estimate of it.—We cannot in enquiries after truth counterbalance one excess by another,—for, it is apt to lie between extremes. A mineralogist and metallurgist has said that *six times* the usual quantity (or \$31,000,000) might be digged annually from the bowels of this mountain; yet I confess I cannot easily credit the practicability of it.

Before Dr. Moreno returned to Buenos-Ayres he visited this famous mountain, and gives a melancholy picture of the oppressions practised on the miserable *mitayos*, or native conscripts, above 12,000 of whom were annually subject to this unexampled hardship.* Notwithstanding the silver spoils continually scooped from this grand depository, nature is constantly reproducing them—as experience has demonstrated. It is the opinion of practical metallists, that by more judicious methods of excavation and refining, the returns of Potosi are capable

* The law prescribing the regulations of the *mita* was disregarded in most instances. Properly, the Indians were only bound to work a stated number of alternate months, from 18 to 50 years of age—in Peru it amounted to one-seventh of their time, they being divided into 7 classes. The *mitayos* were to receive wages adequate to their subsistence; but they were doomed in practice to the greatest wretchedness, and suffered both for want of food and clothing. The purchased negro was well treated in comparison with the forced conscript. Half of them died and all were enfeebled by unwholesome labor in ill-aired subterraneous pits: all were unsheltered by government, without incentive, without *amor patria* without country (in fact) or religion. Moreno tells us that religion was called in to vitiate the unfortunate beings whom policy had degraded. The clergy accommodated their doctrine to the creed of the country—and men were abandoned to barbarousness, forgetting their ancient creeds and dissembling the present.—Curates, sub-delegates, caciques, all constrained them to perform menial offices of every sort, without wages: above 100,000 of the natives are destined to this private domestic service around Potosi. Dr. *Moreno* never forgot the impression of this scene: it inflamed his philanthropic bosom with a desire to emancipate the Indians from all oppression. The virtuous bishop of La Paz, touched with compassion at the spectacle of their wrongs and misfortunes used to assert, that *he would cheerfully pass the remainder of his life in dismal Moorish dungeons to avoid the sad affliction of beholding the Indians in servitude without pay, forever subject without relief to the caprice of men who destroyed their liberty and usurped their property.* (p. 64 to 71. Vida &c. de Moreno.)

The editors of the *Edinburg Review* make a just remark on this compulsory service: “A forced conscription for national defence, though liable to great abuse, is on every principle a justifiable measure; but a forced conscription for the purpose of digging riches from the bowels of the earth for the profit of another, is the extremity of cruelty and injustice.”

It has been surmised by some, that the first revolutionists in Buenos Ayres and Chili attempted too much in favour of humanity. If they were mistaken in their means, we must deplore it, and forgive an error on the side of right.—What are we to hope from the present powers, who leave the mass of episcopal property and clerical privilege untouched, and couple old abuses to new aristocracies?

of being increased to *six times* their amount, in the most prosperous period. Nearly forty years ago the mines were laid under water, and the richest veins abandoned. Don Miguel Rubin de Celis, a scientific officer in the marine, was dispatched to Potosi by the viceroy, Vertiz; he made a survey of the mountain and formed a plan for draining off the water by a subterraneous aqueduct or conduit from the base of the cerro to the bottom of the pits.—His project was not completed.

Another accident which retarded and sometimes stopped mining operations, was the dependence on Spain for supplies of quicksilver from Almaden. In time of war this source was cut off; yet the government discouraged the opening of quicksilver mines situated within the territory of the viceroyalty. One of these exists at *Coabilqui*, in the province of Omasuyos and jurisdiction of La Paz; the second in the mountain of *San Miguel* belonging to the town of Nuestra Senora de Fe, in the missions of Paraguay.—This cerro is not laid down on the map—but it is situated as I am informed, to the south east of the river Parana, and south of the Iguacu, in the margin of the mountains of the Guarani missions, near the frontiers of Brazil.

The first of these was formerly worked very successfully, until prohibited by the superior government of Lima, who would not suffer it to come in competition with the quicksilver of *Guanca Belica*, (or Huancavelica) whose principal shafts and galleries have been since intentionally destroyed; the works now scarcely yielding 4 to 6000 quintals of mercury per annum, which previously afforded 10,500. That of *San Miguel* has never been opened, notwithstanding the commands of the court, to make an estimate of the expenses &c. A sample of the quicksilver had been sent to Spain in a crystal flask: it was compared with the quicksilver of Almaden, and reckoned of a better quality.—Instead of erecting works on the spot, the colonial government thought of transporting the product of the mine to *Potosi* by opening a communication through the province of Los Chiquitos and forming a colony on the opposite bank of the Paraguay, which was to serve as a port to the vessels who should carry it, &c. By intrigue and private interests the treasure has remained intact.

These statements are drawn from the official reports of the viceroys, who were bound to communicate to the Spanish cabinet, every important incident during their term of office. (*Vida y Memorias de Moreno*, 73 to 81.)

This information but proves that provincial jealousy or private cupidity, has fortunately tended to preserve metallic treasures in the bowels of the mines more securely than money in a strong box: that great and unwasted resources will remain at the disposal of the independent governments: that the un-reduced representative and real *standard* of value will soon come in aid of commerce, multiply exchanges, (or quicken circulation,) and extricate nations from the curse of a spurious currency. Genuine mercantile means will be provided from South-America to foment agricultural industry, and stimulate arts and sciences. Consequently, the financial powers of our government &c. will be proportionately advanced.—In throwing out of circulation, or rather, in *removing* the *obstruction* of an unnecessary and injurious

pile of paper-coinage, we may restore equal rights and specie payments together.

I know, my friend, that the stockholders in our unconstitutional banks (for all are unconstitutional) are very *liberally* disposed towards the unprivileged community! "Gentlemen, only give us boundless confidence, and we will issue a boundless currency: but if you return us our own drugs,—why,—to swallow all the physick which the patients reject, would really sicken your paper-doctors.—Trust us! trust us! gentlemen;—have faith in our paper-medium, and reverence our *vested rights*."—This is the customary language of a highly-favored class, fortified in immunities and incorporations. Leave us unmolested, say they, and we'll supply you with hoards of money.

Inferior tradesmen likewise, I say, speak in their appropriate language: (for, if there are superiors, we must have inferiors.)—Listen how the sheep-seller in the romance sounds the virtues of his flock:—"They are meat for none but kings and princes; their flesh is so delicate, so savoury and so dainty, that one would swear it melted in the mouth.—I bring them out of a country where the very sows in their styes (God be with us!) are fed with orange flowers, at the time of parturition.—These sheep are lineally descended from the very family of the ram that wafted Phryxus and Helle over the sea, since called the Hellespont.—Now, I think on't, over all the fields where they urinate, corn grows as fast as if the Lord had ——— been there; they need neither be tilled nor manured. Besides, man, your chemists extract the best saltpetre in the world out of their urine. Nay with their very dung (with reverence be it spoken) the doctors in our country make pills that cure seventy-eight kinds of diseases, the least of which is the evil of Saint Eutropius of Haintes, from which good Lord deliver us!—Do but mind the wonders of nature that are found in those animals even in a member which one would think were of no use. Take me but these horns and bray them a little with an "iron pestle, or with an andiron, which you please, 'tis all one to me; then bury them wherever you will, provided it be where the sun may shine, and water them frequently, in a few months I'll engage you'll have the best asparagus in the world not even excepting that of Ravenna."

Whether Doctor Rabelais's *pills* are better than those of the bank-doctors, you can decide. If one fertilize the soil, the other enrich the emitters; but both may be alike empirical. The fleecy flock may vaunt a higher pedigree, but not (as I think) a higher rank than the multitude who suffer themselves to be fleeced of rights and riches *ad libitum*.

Every citizen of the community is entitled to equal protection, and consequently, under a free government exclusive grants of every description are inadmissible.—If we have wandered from the path of constitutional orthodoxy, let us countermarch and regain it. Freedom of commerce and industry cannot subsist *with privilege*—the fruitful *cause* of *all* the political misery under which nations groan.—I admire free commerce, and dread to see it either enslaving or enslaved. I like to see the genuine merchant flourish, but I detest every species of monopolists: A republic cannot foment any of them without jeopardy.—I am pleased with forensic oratory; but I would not have the barrister de-

graded into a barrator: I would not hold out a *premium to chicane* by the ambiguity of law. It is in short, a GREAT CRISIS IN OUR BODY POLITIC, as in the destiny of South-America, and I pray most fervently, that our fellow citizens may *seize the moment of fate* with a giant's grasp.

I ought to crave your pardon for the digression---if I were not convinced of your principles. But, having grazed the subject of *currency* and *confusion*, I would refer you to one instance of folly analogous to our own---succeeded by a simple and sanative experiment, which is perfectly in our power.

A Spanish monarch, unacquainted with the principles of *money*, once adopted the odd expedient of introducing *copper-coin* into South America, to circulate at an arbitrary value far beyond its intrinsic worth.---Prejudice taking sides with justice, rendered royal edicts abortive, and banished that fecund source of mischief.---Owing to the resistance of the natives, who in less than a year disdainfully buried in the rivers and lakes more than a million of dollars in that metal, the project was abandoned.---Economists have branded the attempt as grossly impolitic and prejudicial in a country like Peru, whose principal products consist of gold and silver.---To debase *them* by a competition with another token would be to abate the ardor of those who are engaged in extracting them from the mines; and would revive the just grounds on which the erroneous policy of Spain was condemned when she prohibited tissues of gold and silver. (See "Present State of Peru," 4to page 115, for a dissertation written in 1791.) Tutored by this essay, the Spanish government prudently substituted *quartillos*, or fourths of reals, a smaller denomination of silver coin. *Subdivision* of metal is always preferable to an adulteration of them, or to a superabundance of paper.

Were a *full report* of the property sacrificed, or of persons ruined by dipping in bank-credit for the last seven years, to be made out and published,---we would stand *amazed* at the revolutions in fortunes and happiness effected by paper-money. Such a monument of misery would not fail to stir up compassion. We do not contemplate shipwreck with composure. Though the *credit system*, which occasioned so much dilapidation cannot be instantly levelled in the dust, it is to be hoped, we may gradually discourage it until all its evils disappear with the restoration of a metallic basis. That foundation and the structure I hope to see rising on it, cannot be found in the course we have lately steered.

If I remark so freely on the disorders of society, and the mercantile embarrassments to which I have referred, it is because I sympathize in the misfortunes of the *worthy*, and poignantly feel the impolicy which would heighten the malady instead of eradicating it.---It were unkind to harrow up our aberrations retrospectively without a motive.---We have looked in a wrong direction for relief. *We must repair our shattered fortunes by South-American trade; and we ought not, cannot stand indifferent to the political destiny of the finest portions of the globe.*---Where our means of wealth are deposited, there let us treasure up some share of our affection. We ought to be the natural guardians of

liberty, every where,---but peculiarly so with respect to the people of our own continent.---More substantial reasons of policy than *political* and *commercial* welfare cannot exist. Nor can there be offered to the consideration of states a stronger motive to action, unless it be that of national existence itself.---I do not pretend to handle this *great subject* in an unstudied letter as it deserves to be treated: I shall present an outline of its prominences,---such as strike on the sight like the peaks of Orizaba or Chimborazo. The most superficial observer must see our means of prosperity reflected (as in a mirror) from those of South America. Our commissioners' Reports, especially those of BLAND and POINSETT, with the Documents attached, ought not only to be *read*, but *remembered*, and reduced to practice. These form an excellent groundwork for the *statesman*, and may exempt me from repeating them particularly---to a gleaner and thinker like you.

Considering that space of country which forms the provinces of Buenos-Ayres, Santa-Fe, Corrientes, Banda Oriental and Paraguay, we survey an immense territory fertilized by the majestic rivers, Negro, Colorado, La Plata, Uruguay, Paraguay and Parana; the two first considerably to the south, the three last to the north of Buenos-Ayres.

Buenos-Ayres (proper) from its spacious plains, produces hides, tallow, horns, furs, flour, corn, wool, salt-beef, horses and mules. She can collect an indefinite quantity of salt chrystallized on the ponds of the S. W. Vessels used to put into the Rio Negro (of the S.) to be supplied with it: but the colony there has suffered great decay since the revolution.—I believe it is broken up.

The Oriental Banda produces timber, charcoal, wool, besides articles similar to those in the preceding paragraph; and her soil is capable of yielding every vegetable growth except that which is strictly *tropical*. To the *northward* of her, and at a very short distance from the Uruguay, in the territory of her present ally, is situated the copper and quicksilver mine already mentioned.

Paraguay yields tobacco, yerba, (matté) cotton, brandy, sugar, molasses and timber, &c.

Corrientes is analogous in soil, and may also furnish good coffee.

Look at the situation of these territories, in respect to the Atlantic, and the interior, and judge of their commerce, whenever independence, freedom and security, shall develope the industry and awaken the enterprize of the people.

It is almost immaterial in a commercial view, to remark, (at present) that to the southward of Buenos-Ayres proper, 20,000 square leagues of territory in a very agreeable part of the temperate zone, and watered by the navigable rivers Negro and Colorado, are yet without inhabitants.

COMMERCE OF BUENOS-AYRES SINCE THE REVOLUTION IN 1810.

<i>Imports.</i>		<i>Exports.</i>	
From <i>England</i> .—70 vessels, with merchandise of every species, valued at	\$4,500,000	To <i>do.</i> —Hides, horns hair, skins, copper, precious metals and specie, *	5,600,000
— <i>Chili</i> .—Copper, mats, horses, gold and silver,	1,344,000	Matte, domestic fabrics and European goods,	2,150,000
— <i>Brazil</i> .—Sugar, coffee, rice, &c.	2,590,000	Hides, flour, tallow, &c.	1,434,000
— <i>U. States</i> .—Arms, gun-powder, naval stores, India goods, plank and household furniture &c }	2,300,000	Hides, skins, jerked beef, tallow and copper, }	890,000
<hr/> \$10,734,000		<hr/> \$10,074,000	

* 780,000 hides were ordinarily exported before the revolution; 1,200,000 since the establishment of free trade (*so called!*)

<i>Public Property and revenue of Buenos-Ayres before the revolution,</i>	\$4,825,000
Property of the Jesuits sequestrated by the crown,	1,800,000
— of deceased Orphans,	750,000

	2,550,000
Proceeds of this property at 6 per cent.	153,000
	<hr/> \$4,978,000†

† Of \$5,243,315, amount of exports in one year, the principal item is specie, amounting to 4,000,000,—derived from the interior, and from Chili.

<i>Public Funds and Revenue, after the revolution,</i>	5,525,000
By confiscation as above,	1,800,000
By <i>do.</i> belonging to "old Spaniards,"	1,300,000
<i>Reprisals on Spanish trade by privateers,</i>	4,500,000
	<hr/> \$7,860,000
Revenue at 6 per cent.	471,000
	<hr/> Amount, 5,996,000

<i>Comparative prices before the free trade.</i>		<i>Since the free trade.</i>
Calico, fine, imported, from 2	to \$3 per yd.	From 25 to 50 cents per yard
Do. common,	1 25 to 2 do.	18 to 25 cents do.
Hides, exported,	1 00 to 1 25	2 30 to \$3

So that the article of consumption was received with a charge of 700 per cent. and their produce was sold at a loss of 150 to 300 per cent. A South-American was obliged to pay as much for a single yard of calico before the revolution as he now pays for eight, and hardly procured for two hides, what is now bartered for one.

You are in no danger of estimating the profitableness of a trade from the money-prices solely; as there are conjunctures when a nation ought not to depend on foreigners for any essential supplies.—The effect of this free trade was an incalculable incentive to a people unaccustomed to it. The same reduction of foreign goods, and enhancement of domestic, which created a sensation so agreeable at Buenos-Ayres, were

equally sought by other provinces. She however, did not think it equally good for them.

The mountainous region (as contradistinguished from the plains) whose ridges are rich with precious ore, and its elevated valleys are the seats of exhaustless fertility, commence at the Montanas de los Yuares, to the east of Santiago del Estero, about lat. 28 south. This jurisdiction is nearly skirted on the west by the mountains around Catamarca, as on the north by those in the jurisdiction of San Miguel.---The country designated as the internal provinces or Upper Peru, might (from mere altitude and configuration) be said to extend from the bounds just mentioned on the south to the limits of Carabaya on the north about lat. 13. In these lofty tracts are the foci of earthquakes and volcanoes unknown in the Pampas. But, according to geographical lines, and established territorial bounds, that part of Upper Peru included in the viceroyalty of La Plata, begins at Jujui (even to the north of Salta,) and stretches to the demarcation of Peru Proper. This highly diversified space, so abundant in vegetable and mineral wealth,---is the residence of Peruvian Indians, whose ancestors were formerly subject to the Incas, and civilized by their mild theocratical policy. The aborigines still cherish the tenacious remembrance of their ancient condition notwithstanding the lapse of time, and the moral concussion of conquest. This territory is divided into seven principal provinces,---La Paz, Cochabamba, Charcas (proper,) Potosi, and Santa Cruz de la Sierra, besides Moxos and Chiquitos; which are again subdivided into twenty-five (or as some maintain twenty-one) districts.

Those provinces afford gold, silver, quicksilver, iron, lead and tin. There are numerous minerals, some quarries of alabaster, and (in La Paz,) an emerald mine. Providence too has supplied the remoter parts with salt-springs, as in Cica-Cica &c.

Many of the higher vallies yield barley, maize and wheat; and vine and olives come to perfection, with the finer fruits of Europe.---*Ocapapa* (or indigenous potatoe,) quinoa, a species of rice, the coco (or betel,) indigo, cacao, tobacco, cotton, banana, sugar-cane, vanilla, ginger, agi, (or guinea pepper) are in proper scites cultivated with success, for food or barter. Balsamic gums, medicinal plants, and precious timber are scattered over the mountains with profusion.---The best species of Cinchona, i. e. red bark,* is found in La Paz, the cinnamon is frequent; and the camphor-tree is said to exist there also. In some situations the *nopal* invites the docile, ingenious natives to rear the cochineal insect.

Among the animals are the Llama (or little native camel,) guanaco, alpaca and vicuna,---the three latter valuable for the fineness of their wool, well known in commerce. Sheep are in plenty; and with the skins of the fox and chinchilla, augment the articles of traffic.

"There are in this sub-province (Pacages) 70 mines of silver which are worked; there is also a mine of emeralds." Pazos, 173. If a single district of La Paz contains so much metallic wealth, we may safely

* *Cascarilla roxa*.

imagine that the quantity throughout Upper Peru is prodigious—though it is impossible for us to form an estimate of it. This author *conjectures* that about \$18,000,000 are annually extracted in Peru proper and in these internal or upper provinces of Buenos-Ayres. When we are favored with the researches of M. Hænke, and other *learned* tourists in that region, it is probable that much new and curious *data* will display some “secrets worth knowing.” At present it is impossible to assert whether the unwrought quicksilver mines of the internal provinces are comparable in richness to the famous mercury-mine of Guanica Velica (Huancavelica) in old Peru. In 219 years, the estimated value of mercury extracted from it (viz. 1,040,452 quintals) amounted to \$67,629,396 and 3 reals. The product would probably have been much greater, had the mine been wrought by private individuals instead of being conducted by a governor on royal account: for Philip II. either bought it or dispossessed the proprietor, *D. Amador Cabrera*, in September, 1570.—Neither have I the temerity to say, in the present state of information, (much as has been published on the subject.) that the metals in the seven intendancies of Buenos-Ayres, equal those of old Peru. In the eight intendancies of Lima, Tarma, Truxillo, Huamanga, Cuzco, Arequipa, Guantajaya and Huancavelica, there were numbered in 1791,—69 serviceable gold mines, and 784 of silver; 4 of quicksilver, 4 of copper and 12 of lead: at the same time that 29 of gold and 588 of silver had, by various accidents and casualties been rendered unserviceable. (See Present State of Peru 4to.)

Certain it is, that Peru produced annually in coined metals at the beginning of the present century, \$6,682,000 at least. But, Mr. *Torres* estimates her yearly extraction above *eight* millions: and this possibly a moderate *appraisalment*.

If the internal provinces rival old Peru (so to name it for distinction's sake) in the precious metals, it cannot be a very eccentric guess which fixes their total joint product at \$18,000,000.

There has been much speculation on the future routes of commerce of the upper provinces; but nature has formed the channels in which it will float, unless violence obstruct them. From the south of San Miguel as far north as the valley of Tarija, products will be carried down the Vermejo, Salado and Dulce rivers, and seek a market in Corrientes, Santa-Fe, or Buenos-Ayres.—The commercial outlet of the country from *Tarija* to *Chayanta*, and most probably as far as *Cochabamba*, is the Pilcomayo and its branches: for although the little river Cochabamba runs through the west district of that province, and winds around Santa Cruz de la Sierra into the Guapahi and Mamore, yet it is far more probable that the inhabitants will carry their commodities to the nearest branch of the Pilcomayo, and thus transport them to the Paraguay, than think of sending them into Brazil. They will not take that course in our day—if they ever do. Cochabamba *may* possibly find a vent for lighter articles towards the Pacific; the heavier ones she will not convey over the two great chains of the Cordilleras, that can only be scaled by Llamas and mules. The discovery of a more practicable path in these formidable barriers would be worth a mine to the people.—A home market for their cattle, grain, roots, wine,

poultry and fruits, is furnished by the mines, where great quantities are consumed. This internal consumption is an important stimulus to agriculture; formerly the amalgamation-works &c. took off many of the cloths manufactured in the country. The Indians in Cochabamba and Cuzco are ingenious in spinning and weaving cotton and wool.—Paria, Carangas, Oruro, Berenguella, Chucuyto, Arcolla, Lampa, Asangaro, and Omazuegos or Omasuyo, lying chiefly *between* the western and central Cordilleras, their inhabitants must climb the littoral ridges, and descend to the ports in Arica, Moquehua and Arequipa in Lower Peru. Nature has facilitated their internal intercourse from north to south by the Paria and Desaguadero, the outlets of the magnificent lake Titicaca.—La Paz proper and Cica-cica will naturally endeavor to communicate with the ports of the Pacific from Arica to Pisco. Their foreign goods will be received through the same ports. The inhabitants “with their precious metals, will purchase directly of foreign merchants every thing they want, without waiting for a yard of cloth to reach them by travelling hundreds of miles across the pampas of Buenos-Ayres.”

It is said indeed that England carried on an active commerce with these provinces (during the last war with Spain,) through the ports of Cobija, Iquique, Arica, Ilo, Quilca &c. but it is not equally feasible “that Cuzco and Cochabamba can alone supply all Peru with wheat:” They *produce* it abundantly, I doubt not; and Guarochiri has abundance of coal in its bowels; but it cannot bear the expense of carriage to Lima.—Many possible things are not done.—We for instance, could manufacture goods sufficient for domestic use, but we do not. Chili has supplied the western coast to the north of her, with wheat for a hundred and twenty-five years past, especially Lima and other towns in Low (or Maritime) Peru, the capabilities of Cuzco notwithstanding. What fine roads will effect when made, I cannot tell.—*Cochabamba*, having on her north the high mountains in which the *Beni* has its source, is *very unlikely to empty her granaries in Lima*.^{*} In fact, the royalists have had quiet possession of those provinces, of one always, of the other for many years; and yet, flour has been carried from Baltimore to Guayaquil, both around Cape Horn and by Cruces and Panama, and there sold too at a handsome profit. This cannot continue, if Chili be ever relieved from her grievous oppressions, and permitted to cultivate her soil and resources under a free government.—Indeed we do not desire its continuance. We lose much by the ruin of Chili. The circumstance just related corroborates the opinion of judge Bland, and unanswerably overthrows the conclusions of Mr. Pazos, who seems to assume the sameness of production and transportation: but, until “faith” can literally “remove mountains,” level precipices, and make a carriage-way among declivities where the fleet guanaco and vicuña are afraid to bound, it is useless to discuss the question of fertility or infertility.—Trees may “weep amber,” and forests of cinnamon perfume the air; the fruits of the cacao, vanilla and guayava may ripen and

^{*} See Judge Bland's Report on Chili, p. 115—6, and Pazos' Letters, p. 228—9.

fall;—balms and resins may distil from native groves of the tropical mountains;—be their abundance and excellence what they may, it is communities of wild birds and monkeys, not of merchants, that will feast or fatten on those bounties of nature—until avenues are opened for the sweet-scented spoils to reach a market. The reason I am sure, I need not farther expound: Monkeys and birds go to the fruits—the fruits do not come to them. Mountains now-a-days would not budge for Mahomet himself.

PERU Proper, we are told, is the feeblest, and with the exception of its mineral wealth, the least important of all the provinces.—Voyage, vol. I. page 22. Again: “Peru contains about a million of inhabitants, more than one half composed of the spiritless Indian peasantry; of the other half the greater part is made up of negroes and mulattoes.—Scarcely a fifth are whites, and the number of monks and nuns is greater than in any other catholic country in the world, and may account for the slow progress of population and the dissoluteness of morals.—The staple manufactory of Peru is priests; and of them a sufficient number is made to supply all South-America.” *ibid.*

Perhaps our author reckoned by *Quipos*, whose knots and colors perplexed his arithmetic! for there is a little, and exceedingly little truth in his assertions about Peru, but less decency in the manner of telling it. Its superficies is not equal to the quondam viceroyalty of Buenos-Ayres; yet it is *incomparably* superior in importance to Buenos-Ayres proper and all her *actual* union. It contains more learned men than any section south of the isthmus, hardly excepting *Santa Fe de Bogota*; and is, geologically considered, *the most extraordinary tract on our globe*. Her mountains and vales eminently exemplify the sublimest facts of the Plutonian theory, and in a manner reconcile the principles contested by the advocates of the Neptunian and Volcanic systems; which may now be considered as *severally* unfounded, but *jointly* true.* Ages of

* Regarding the important and laborious experiments of Sir James Hall, above 500 in number, (See *Transactions of R. Society of Edinburg*, vol. 5-6) as verifying the principal positions of the *Huttonian theory*, the veriest tyro of science would be warmed to enthusiasm towards a country that bears witness in her Cordilleras, and their granite and metalliferous veins, in her whole colossal system of chrySTALLIZATION, &c. &c. to the grandest truths of geology. Mr. Hall has demonstrated the formation of rocks by igneous fusion under great mechanical restraint. He has even given a table of the compressive force that with proper heats effect the purpose. With a pressure of 52 atmospheres he formed limestone; marble, with that of 86; and calcareous spar, when complete fusion was caused under that of 173. By the joint agency of heat and compression the sand would be changed to sandstone; shells to limestone; animal and vegetable substances to coal. Other bodies, according to their degree of fusibility, &c. ferruginous, alkaline, or earthy, would be injected in a state of fluidity, into every crevice by an upward pressure; or would congeal in the internal rents, in form of basalt, porphyry, greenstone, and other substances known by the general name of whinstone.—A pretty intense heat would give to sand the requisite tenacity and toughness for *primary schistus*; and in one still higher, the sand would be entirely melted, and be convertible by slow cooling into granite, sienite &c.

By the continued action of heat (continues Mr. Hall) on a great quantity of fluid matter, and in which, notwithstanding the great pressure some substances would be volatilized, a powerful heaving of the superincumbent mass must have taken

ages (perhaps) before this earth was fitted for vegetable and animal life, the internal force that heaved the mountains, the internal fire that fused their contents, and the superincumbent waters &c. whose pressure compelled the imprisoned elements into new forms and combinations in the great laboratory of nature, when carbon was prepared to be chrystallized into the diamond, and lime and carbon were combined into limestone and marble &c. &c. &c.—all these arcana, I say, whose very contemplation transports the mind so far beyond the bigotted inventions of *after times*, or the dirty, avaricious, party contentions of the day,—have left their living mineralogical proofs profusely scattered over Peru.—Yes, my friend, if the sectary look below the surface of the globe, or judiciously *upon it*, he will learn his ignorance and grow modest: and if our loquacious “Secretary” had thought for an instant of what he was scribbling, he would have expunged it forever.

place, which by repeated efforts succeeding each other from below, would at last elevate their strata into their present situation. Hence the extraordinary inclination of layers once horizontal, and mountains 20,000 feet above the ocean, once immersed in its bed.

Professor Playfair in his “*Illustrations*,” and in his Biographical Account of Dr. Hutton, has given a more enlarged view of that great man’s ideas. The spoils or wreck of an older world appeared every where visible in the present; and innumerable evidences convinced him that the strata which now compose our continents are all formed out of strata more ancient than themselves.

Pursuing substances through all their changes,—emersion from the ocean—elevation above the earth’s surface,—decomposition in the atmosphere by mechanical or chemical means; their transportation by rivers to the sea, and deposition there, he formed the grandest conceptions of creation: “On comparing the first and the last of the propositions just mentioned (says *Playfair*,) it is impossible not to perceive that they are two steps of the same progression, and that mineral substances are alternately dissolved and renewed. These vicissitudes may have been often repeated; and there are not wanting remains among mineral bodies that lead us back to continents from which the present are the third in succession.” We see neither the beginning nor conclusion. “In the continuation of the different species of animals and vegetables that inhabit the earth, we discern neither a beginning nor an end; and in the planetary motions, where geometry has carried the eye so far both into the future and the past, we discover *no mark* either of the commencement or termination of the present order. It is unreasonable indeed to suppose that such marks should any where exist. The Author of Nature has not given laws to the universe, which, like the institutions of men, carry in themselves the elements of their own destruction: *he has not permitted in his works any symptom of infancy or old age*; or any sign by which we may estimate either their future or their past duration.”

Most of the facts stated by M. Breislak are corroborative of the Huttonian theory; and as Peru exhibits even more striking illustrations of the doctrine than Italy and Sicily, it would have been a more excusable *digression*, if our *tourist* had passed from its mineral wealth to its geological structure, than to have hopped every moment from geography and commerce to political factions.

Our tourist, who has very imperfect notions of Peruvian strength and consequence, may learn the true causes of her weakness in point of castes of population, from studying in Solorzano, the operations of the Spanish laws, and reading the history of mal-administration.—All defects are comprized in—*departure from equality and justice*. What only suffered neglect elsewhere, suffered outrage in the Spanish colonies.—Peru has sufficient numerical population to form a respectable state, were they cemented by common rights, instead of being diverse in origin and mutually estranged by institution.

Though he alludes to Sobreviela's travels and labors, he seems unconscious of the geographical *extent* of Peru! He has given us a map of it, but leaves it without limit to the north and north-east. The received one he might have ventured to put down with more credit and safety than he has risked a hundred of his *sayings*.—This viceroyalty, stretches along the coast of the Pacific, from Tumbez about 3 degrees 25 minutes, to the river Loa or Loxa, between Arica and the desert of Atacama, about 21 degrees 25 min. south latitude,* and embraces an area, as you will perceive, of no less than 555,900 square miles. If the best and latest maps have any accuracy in them, this measurement holds good. I know not why Humboldt has said, or been made to say, that Peru has only a surface of 30,000 square leagues of 25 to a degree, —not near one half its superficial contents. I have often had occasion to remark that this illustrious man is always precise and profound when he observes, calculates, and reflects *for himself*,—and almost uniformly mistaken when he adopts the data of others.—Hence his errors on the produce of the mines, (especially of Potosi,) on population, and perhaps relative to the particular effect of South American independence on the price of labor, &c. &c.—But, this great man's learned labors can bear the subtraction of a few miscalculations, and still be immortal; when, a single touch dissolves the frail fabric of the dull compiler, or the vicious inventor.

The region between the western Cordillera and the ocean is styled Low Peru (or the vallies;) the residue, High Peru. The diversity is as striking as that of two different worlds—between the sandy vallies where it never rains, and summits wrapt in perpetual snow. But every one knows its geographical character,—the arid tracts and rugged mountains that stretch almost from one extremity to the other, with fruitful vales intervening. “Throughout, the breaks and vallies which enjoy the benefit of irrigation, present to the view an extensive range of delightful plains, replete with cities and towns, with a highly salubrious climate.” Chili and Peru are respectively and emphatically called the “country of old men.”

Low Peru is agreeably cooled by the southern breezes, which (as it is remarked) passing over the frozen climes to the south waft along some of the frigorific particles from those gelid regions. Floating mists present a curtain to exclude the ardour of the sun for six months in the year. These mists tend to fertilize arid spots that would otherwise be barren; the humid fogs called *garuas* being a substitute for rain.

The author of the “Present State of Peru” gives us other reasons for the slow progress of population and agriculture, besides the number of priests, which is doubtless a nuisance every where.—“The rural operations of sowing and planting, as well as domestic employments, have constantly fallen to the lot of the negroes.” Such was the seductive influence of pride and prejudice that it was reckoned disreputable or

*Formerly its southern boundary on the coast, was, or was represented to be, at *Morro Moreno*, still farther southward; but the intermediate space between Loxa and the Morro, including the port of Cobija, is now assigned to Buenos Ayres.

infamous for white men to till the soil.* Under this false standard of worth they loathed employment of which a Roman general would have been proud. Indolence begets indolence: "Bad, uneven roads together with the delays and expense of carriage almost entirely obstruct the internal circulation of this kingdom, and are so many obstacles in the way of agriculture." To discover a remedy where it was so much wanted, the Academical society (some of whose members wrote the admired essays in the *Mercurio Peruano*) proposed a gold medal &c. in 1791, to the author of the best dissertation on improving the roads of Peru, and similar ones of silver to the essay of secondary merit. None was offered except one from Chachapoyas, in the mountains, so indifferently written, that its author obtained neither medal, ring, nor chain of silver or gold.

Peru has her principal riches buried in the earth, alum, copperas, ochre, chrystals; basaltes, sulphur, cope, (a black naptha,) copper, lead, iron, some tin, and platina, "and lastly and pre-eminently gold, and silver."

Her vegetable products are also important, and may be incalculably augmented in her east and south-east provinces.—Both species of cinchona*, (*cascarilla roxa* and *arrollada*,--red and quill bark) are gathered in the mountainous parts of Huanuco, Tarma and Jauja. Vines thrive very well, and the tangled forests of olive-trees are the wonder of the traveller. No other fruit-tree with so little culture yields so immense a profit. "*Non ulla est oleis cultura*," holds almost literally true in Peru, as in ancient Italy.—The *olive plantations* (Ulloa tells us) appear like *thick forests*; in height and magnitude exceeding those of Spain. The trees are never pruned; by which means their branches become so interwoven, that the light cannot penetrate through their foliage.

She commonly exported sugar, honey, vicuna wool, cotton-cloth, salt, rice, in her trade with the adjacent provinces, which was very considerable. For example, Lima used to send cotton, tanned hides, shoes, hats, baizes (chiefly made at Cuzco,) and sugars to Guayaquil and Panama; importing cacao, coffee and wax *via* Paita.

Arequipa and Cuzco once carried on a gainful trade with the provinces of Buenos-Ayres, Potosi, Chuquisaca &c. to the value of \$2,034,980 piastres or dollars. Arequipa sent brandies, wines of Locumba, maize, flour, cotton, oil, pimento and sugars: Cuzco furnishing cotton-cloths,

*For upwards of thirty years after the treaty of Utrecht, (in 1713) England supplied Peru with negroes. It has been urged that this privilege together with the capture of Jamaica, about the middle of the previous century, and the depredations of the buccaneers, severely injured the commerce of Peru. After 1748 the register-ships *via* Cape Horn succeeded to the trade of the galleons by Porto-Bello and Panama &c.

†It is not material to repeat that 'Jesuits' bark was discovered by the Spanish colonists in 1638. While count de Cinchon was viceroy of Lima, his lady was relieved from a terrible fever by some barks sent from Loxa. In 1639 he carried some of it with him to Europe, where Linnaeus named it *Cinchona Officinalis*.—Some had been likewise transmitted to the cardinals at Rome; where it passed for a while by the title of *Cardinals' powder*.

baizes and other woollen fabrics. (woven by the Indians and Cholos,) sugar and grain.—They received in return, specie, cattle, tasajo, wool, tallow, cacao, copper, tin, mules, sheep, black cattle, hides, wax and soap. This trade was greatly in favor of Peru, although thirty or forty thousand mules were purchased every year. The channel of supply has been since deranged, by the great importations into the La Plata of foreign goods which have crushed the manufactures of Cochabamba, and shaken those of Cuzco. It must suffer other changes. I make a note of it to remind us of the commercial staples of Peru. Of late, this trade had become more lucrative even in the midst of revolution.—Pazos observes, that “the interior commerce between Upper and Lower Peru has been calculated at \$6,693,513 annually.”

Ever since 1693, Peru depended on Chili for wheat and corn, and received tallow, copper, hides &c. &c. from thence. The corn-trade originated with an earthquake which desolated the valleys of Lima and overwhelmed Callao, and the balance has continued in favor of Chili ever since. The intermediate ports of Iquique, Arica, Ilo and Aranta imported wheat from Chili. Lima imported timber as well from Guayaquil as from the island of *Chiloe*, which notwithstanding its proximity to Chili, was politically annexed to the government of Peru.—She exported wines, brandies and oil to *Realejo* and *Sonsonate* in Guatemala, and imported thence, indigo, pitch, pimento, cedar planks and brazil-wood.

It was only with Chili and Panama that the balance was against her. Her exports to other provinces in 1789, laying aside the metals and internal trade, amounted to \$2,679,942—and her imports \$1,954,750 leaving a balance in her favor, of \$725,192.

I entertain no doubt, therefore, that were we to regard the metals coined in Peru, as part of her capital rather than that of *Spanish* proprietors (to whom much of the coinage belongs) we must estimate her resources for trade at *ten millions of dollars*, at the very lowest calculation. M. Torres has calculated the commercial ability of Spanish-America on the true *principle*—her amount of exports,—whether he is accurate in the *facts* or not. What strengthens my opinion is a dissertation I have seen on the abuse of free commerce, *after 1783*, when in one fiscal year from September 1785 till September 1786, sixteen vessels are stated to have anchored in Callao with cargoes valued at 24,000,000 dollars. At the same time the averaged annual consumption was but 4,000,000. [To this sort of excess we are no strangers!] The inundation produced great embarrassment; and the glut was completed by similar importations for several consecutive years. The fact is, that her internal trade was disturbed by the unusual influx.—While her metals and other exports were not less than *eight* millions, we see that her habits required but *four* millions of *foreign* merchandise from Europe. I leave out of view the importations from the Philippine islands. As her exports however will be the gauge of her imports, (when all her mines &c. become *Peruvian* capital) we may imagine the worth of her commerce. Her numerous commodious harbors north and south of Lima, from *Paita* to *Iquique* inclusive, will one day be crowded with the flags of all nations.

In 1791, the population of Peru was estimated at 1,400,000. At the present day, it cannot fall short of 1,800,000 souls; of whom about 900,000 are Indians and Cholos (Indian castes *por salto atras*;) there are about 500,000 negroes and mulattoes: leaving about 400,000 whites and persons *claiming* the *honor* of a white skin!--I do not confide in the pretended census of 1575, giving 1,500,000 souls to Peru proper, nor in the lame and later sketch of Humboldt. I follow the latest *manuscript* account I had seen, though I believe that Peru contains two millions. The *proportions* or classes are not well ascertained; but, any one can frame a table of these on the data in Poinsett's Report, from page 21 to 30. Though the statement be antiquated, and the number too low, the *relative* parts may be received.

The higher and favored caste in Peru, are remarkable for their sprightliness and affability "A good taste, urbanity and a social disposition are the hereditary qualities of every Peruvian."—Polite literature was assiduously cultivated in the universities and colleges of Lima and Cuzco; and, with respect to one class, "knowledge is general throughout Peru, as well on account of the natural quickness and penetration of its native inhabitants, as through their fondness for study." Some physical science has been disseminated latterly from those seats of learning that were formerly devoted to law, divinity and the classicks. Ulloa speaks with admiration of the men, and with rapture of the ladies of Lima,—extolling without bounds the manly frankness, courage and scrupulous honor of the one, and the wit, graces and attractions of the other.—The Limanese, says the writer, are too proud to brook haughtiness, but repay mildness with affability.—"They are charmed with gentleness of manners, and a few instances of kindness make a lasting impression on their minds. They are remarkably brave, and of such unblemished honor, as never to dissemble an affront received, or give one to others." I do not insist on classing with this description of men who seem to range to the very top of the scale of human sensibility, honor and chivalry,—such amusing rampallions as commodore Porter* saw at Tumbez, &c.—(every country has its quotient of such gentry:) nor do I contend that the Peruvians may not have lately been changed for the worse, as previously for the better. Feuds, party, *long possession of power, or a mercantile spirit*, often metamorphose a class, if not a people, almost imperceptibly.—The polished, gallant and literary character of modern Peruvians (judging of all by the *Limanese*,) is most strongly contrasted with the rough brutality of their turbulent ancestors. If history did not show some analogies, you would doubt whether the present generation there are descended from such forefathers as the mutinous, murderous, sordid, barbarous and bigotted conquerors.† "It was not to be expected" (to quote an interesting manuscript

*See Porter's Journal, page 203 to 206 inclusive.

†If the moderns still retain a tincture of their honor and intelligence, as observed by Ulloa and Humboldt, I should regret to see them conquered and despoiled by the cut-throats of Buenos-Ayres: I had rather see them liberating themselves; but their swarms of negroes and castes may render them powerless and fix their fate. Slaves may indirectly enslave their masters.

before me) "that they who robbed the Incas of their empire, should readily agree about the distribution of the spoil, or be speedily cured of those habits of avarice and licentiousness which they had contracted in persecuting, torturing and pillaging the Indians. Their tumults and insurrections from the time of Almagro and Francisco Pizarro, down to the extinction of Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion by Gasca, confirmed their military spirit.—The masters of Peru were neither philosophers, like the founder of Pennsylvania, nor cultivators content to seek a slow and tranquil fortune by the exercise of their industry. They were mere soldiers, and soldiers inured to the campaigns of Charles V. in Italy. The maxim promulgated by the commissioner of this prince, for appeasing Pizarro's rebellion, discloses at once the sentiments of the cabinet and the disposition of the subjects—*Quede la tierra por el Emperador, mi senor, y gobiernela el Diablo*.—"Let my master, the Emperor possess the territory, and the devil may govern it," were his memorable expressions.

"Lima ruled nearly the whole southern continent from Panama to Paraguay and Magellan; and what constitutes to day the opulent states of Santa Fe, the provinces of Rio de la Plata and Chili, formed then only so many subdivisions or departments of that superior government. This monopoly of authority was naturally followed by the concentration of riches from all the channels usually opened by influence and power in the commercial as in the political world. Lima became the residence of the opulent, and the fashionable resort of the great; the centre to which all were attracted to enjoy the riches accumulated in in other parts of the viceroyalty. From these circumstances arose the nobility and aristocracy, that even remain when the fortunes that gave them existence have vanished;—and this is a principal, perhaps chief cause, that disinclines her to the revolution after her neighbours have embraced it.*

"When Lima had lost these exclusive advantages, she still retained the enormous capital which she had acquired by them, and directed it to other objects that should maintain her luxurious splendour. The metals extracted from her mines, her rare and elegant wools; that especially of the vicuna, with divers productions of the field and forest, are not only sufficient to secure her a considerable, but an enviable commerce.—In 1791 her exportations to Cadiz without reckoning other ports of the Peninsula, were \$4,780,837: 2½ reals, in silver and produce (See *Mercurio Peruano*;) and the average annual exports for Cadiz are calculated at \$5,000,000.—The nature of her interior and external commerce is well understood: but, the revolution has almost annihilated the last, and lessened the first perhaps one half, by interrupting her relations with Santa Fe, Chili, and Buenos-Ayres.

"The present condition of Peru is obviously transitory—at least it has no aspect that betokens permanence. It is no longer (in reality) the

*There is probably a stronger reason,—dread of the blacks, on account of the numerical inferiority of the whites. The influence of the higher clergy would be secured, as lately in Buenos-Ayres and Chili, by taking them into partnership with military usurpers, the newly-made upstart nobles, and the older *titulados*.

war of Spain against her revolted colonies. Lima as an ally of Spain is at war with the rest. Her ally can give little assistance. With the destruction of her feeble squadron she will probably fall.—Should her neighbors fail to coerce her, she must soon revolutionize herself. San Martin and Belgrano, in set proclamations to the people of Peru, have plainly assured them that they would not force liberty upon them! This promise would be grateful to the hearts of the upper classes; yet these may prefer holding the reins in their own hands, especially when they behold the devastation of Chili by her military friends from Buenos-Ayres."

CHILI so much admired for fecundity of soil and benignity of climate,—described so frequently from the time of the conquest,—more recently by *Molina* and *Robertson*,—and still later by *Poinsett* and *Bland*,—this delightful country, I say, excites no new ideas; nothing novel can be written upon it, excepting her probable destiny,—her political importance among the nations of the new world, and her commercial relations with all.—Its position and productions render it inestimable in our trade with the western coast, in our whale fishery, and in our commerce with China and the islands of the Indian ocean. Fruits, plants and grain of almost every species flourish luxuriantly in her inexhaustible soil. "Nor has nature, says Robertson, exhausted her bounty on the surface of the earth; she has stored its bowels with riches. Valuable mines of gold, of silver, of copper, and of lead, have been discovered in various parts of it."—And the amiable dispositions of the inhabitants are described by all as worthy of the earthly paradise in which they reside.

Some reckon the longitudinal extent of Chili from 24 to 37 degrees, others to 45 degrees of south latitude, and it varies in breadth between the Andes and the ocean from 40 to 230 miles. Including the territory south of the Bio-bio and the island of Chiloe, it contains an area of about 178,100 square miles.† It is a territory far more considerable for its numberless advantages of soil, climate, mines, and commerce, than for its superficial contents. In this space lie the district of Baldivia, &c. to the south, and 13 provinces north of the Bio-bio—Copiapo, Coquimbo, Quillota, Aconcagua, Melipilla, Santiago, Rancagua, Calchagua, Maule, Itata, Chillan, Puchacay, Huilquilemu. Its population in 1814, was 1,200,000.

The principal ports of Chili are, Copiapo, Guasco, Coquimbo, Tongoy, Papudo, Herradura, Quintero, Valparaiso, San Antonio, Topocalma, Navidad, Astillero, Talcahuana, San Vincente and Baldivia.—All these are not ports of entry.—(See *Bland's Report on Chili*, page 86 to 88, inc. and Document No. I. communicated by the secretary of state for the Chilian government.)

I shall now conclude this simple communication with a summary exposition of the value of South-American trade to us—premising, that we must take into the estimate that commerce with Europe in our na-

†Two other maps measure,—the one 185,000,—the other, 194,600 square miles. I prefer the lowest calculation. Writers who give it 378,000 square miles surely forget its mean breadth!

live produce, as tobacco, &c. by which we procure cargoes suitable either for Buenos-Ayres, or the western (Pacific) coast. This is valuable. We must also calculate the continuity of the voyage, beginning in our ports, and follow our freight to Europe, (i. e. France, Holland, or Germany,) from thence around Cape Horn,—up perhaps to Columbia river, after trading at Conception, Arica, Guayaquil, &c. &c. and from the Pacific with a freight of seal-skins, sandal-wood, &c. for Canton. I pass over the commerce we may drive in the various islands of the Indian ocean. I am studious not to magnify *our interest in Spanish-America*; and I shall rather present you with the *result of three years diligent observation*, than with details of facts—save where the subject exacts particularity.

Mr. Pazos says, in page 241, “The precious metals can be obtained in Peru, for several commodities which, I am informed, can be exported cheaper from the United States than from any other nation, such as coarse cottons, ships, leather, furniture, hats, castings, nails, carriages, and *some other articles*.”—Yes, he might have added, *many other articles*.—He justly observes, that if we become manufacturers, as we must to a reasonable degree, we may find a lucrative vent for our goods in Peru, &c.

(*List of Exportable Commodities for South-America.*)

We can profitably export to various parts of Spanish-America:—Flour and biscuit, lard, soap, onions, oil, rice, drugs, beer, cider, porter and peach brandy; butter, cheese, shad, codfish, herring and mackerel; pot and pearl-ashes; windsor chairs, sofas and other household furniture;—staves, plank and lumber; carts, wagons, gigs; manufactures of copper and brass; rafters, joists, masts, spars, pullies, and frames for ships; cut and common glass decanters; powder and shot; hats, nails, hinges, screws, saws, axes, spades, cannon shot, bar-iron, hoops and castings; pistols and muskets; saddlery, boots, shoes, and dressed skins; tar, pitch, beef, pork; letter and writing paper; candles, coverlets, escrutoires, towels, table-cloths, wrought tin, morocco and common leather; cordovan, &c.—And I am confident, that any *Yankee* trader could make the list a third longer.

Were Britain in *our* situation, (and let us suppose her in it) *she* would not suffer her people to be thrust out of a market that will enlarge from year to year: nor would she cripple the proper industry of the middle and northern states. If she were as fond of liberty, as of wealth and empire, she would say:—“The manufacturer shall be protected as well as the farmer. Can a whole nation flourish, or even *subsist*, by raising raw materials for a foreign nation? no; it is absurd: and therefore, we will *plant the manufacturer by the side of the husbandman*. One part of a nation ought not to be as a colony to another part. No, that were unjust, and would teach this section to domineer,—that to truckle. Besides, two markets are better than one, and three are preferable to two. Our prosperity, our strength, our existence shall not rest on contingencies. Our revenue shall not be trusted to winds, waves, foreign whims and casualties: Internal commerce, domestic cir-

ulation, and internal taxation, shall relieve us from uncertainty.—In the body politic as in the natural, the heart and its pulsations must be within it—the vital fluid must be first propelled from the centre to the extremities, not from the outside to the inside. It were a rare monster truly, whose heart, arteries and circulation were *out* of the body—aye, at some distance from it.—*All sorts* of industry must be cherished.”

It will be recollected, that a taste prevailed in most of the provinces for German, French and India goods; but the two former classes are partially superseded by English fabricks—the policy of England always supporting her commerce, and her commerce promoting her policy.

To the *Atlantic* provinces, it is safe in our circuitous traffick, to ship Catalonia wine and sherry, (the former in pipes) and other wines in bottles,—as well as almonds, figs, raisins, olives, and anchovies.

From the most impartial examination of all the estimates, or facts which *I* could gather from books, or manuscript statements, I am decidedly of opinion, that the South-American seas and market (with the *branches*, as heretofore hinted, in Europe, the Indian ocean, &c.) will yield us an annual return to the following amount, or upwards:—

Whale-fishery of the Pacific,	\$3,000,000
North-west trade and branches,	3,000,000
Chilian trade (with European and E. Indian,)	2,500,000
Buenos-Ayres,*	3,000,000
Venezuela and New-Granada,	5,000,000
	<hr/>
	16,500,000

Supposing Peru were added to the catalogue of independent states, it would open a market worth a million and a half,—giving us a commerce of 18 millions, southwardly of the Isthmus of Panama. Its existence will depend on the atchievement of independence; its extension on the principles of the new political institutions which are to succeed the old.

Our whale fishery (with its adjuncts) is rather underrated, the more certainly to avoid exaggeration. In 1818, New-Bedford and Nantucket had 72 vessels of all classes employed in it: their aggregate tonnage was 17,158 tons, and navigated by 1,330 men. Seybert observes, that in 1806 this fishery was at its *maximum*, and amounted to 3,116,000 dollars. But it is yet to be tried under new relations, whether the profits of 1806 *will* be viewed as the maximum.—Our patronage of the fisheries was prudent: they “constitute the best nursery for that hardy race of citizen seamen, who feel the love of country, and are therefore willing and able to maintain its rights, and they are also the sources to which commerce must look for its defenders.” (Statistical Annals, 338–40.)

* In this valuation, Buenos-Ayres is regarded as an *emporium* or entrepot, from whence merchandise may be transported in settled times to the internal provinces.—As a consumer, she herself is rather inconsiderable, but her market will be worth seeking nevertheless.

I do not pretend however, that fishermen or farmers or merchants should have exclusive encouragement: that would be unjust as impolitic. All on land cannot be cultivators nor shopkeepers; and we shall find it the wisest policy to foster *domestic manufactures* and *internal commerce*.—It is these that insure independence, comfort and stability to a people. It is these that will enable us to banish the destructive and fraudulent system of loans, funds and banks, and to rely on the *cheapest taxation*—I mean a small *direct tax*. Afford the people the means of paying plain and palpable contributions; and when *they understand their true interests, they will ask to be taxed openly and not covertly*. They will dismiss the great brokers, who for one loan exact a mortgage of revenue (and rights in some measure) for twenty years, and who under color of saving a nation from taxes, burden it with grievous taxation. Internal taxes are internal strength—indirect contributions the sign of *inherent weakness*.—By domestic manufactures we may likewise increase our commerce with South America. Governments owe protection to every part.—For this policy you have the word of Dr. Franklin, and the experience of the world.

“Industry in *all shapes*, in all instances, and by *all* means, should be encouraged and protected: indolence by every possible method rooted out.

“All that live must be subsisted. Subsistence costs something. He that is industrious produces by his industry, something that is an equivalent, and pays for his subsistence. He is therefore no charge, or burden to society. The indolent are an expense.”

“It was an excellent saying of a certain Chinese emperor,—“I will, if possible, have no idleness in my dominions; for if there be one man idle, some other man must suffer cold and hunger.”—We take this emperor’s meaning to be “that the labor due to the public, by each individual, not being performed by the indolent, must naturally fall to the share of others, who must thereby suffer.

“*Whatever* can contribute towards procuring from the land, and by industry (i. e. manufactures) a produce wherewith other nations may be supplied, ought *highly* to be encouraged.” (*Franklin on Commerce*, &c. vol. IV. p. 159–60.)

I think, sir, that our fellow-citizens of the southern states cannot object to this doctrine any reasonable argument.—Let them employ their slaves in raising tobacco, cotton, rice—whatever they please:—but let them not insist on sending *every* man, woman and child, old or young, robust or decrepid, elsewhere, to labor in the field. It is oftentimes augmenting the lump without augmenting the value: “Why *should* they labor for that which is not bread?” There may be a market for cotton (however precarious,) and none for wheat. It is *enough* in all conscience, (if not too much) that the population, who possess neither rights nor volition for themselves, are made to confer a preponderance of political or representative power; but it would “*out-Herod Herod*,” if their labor and employment should be a rule for those of the northern, middle and western states—regardless of soils, climates, habits, interests, rights.—*I appeal to reason*, my friend; reproach and dissension are my abhorrence in fair topics of discussion.

The NEW ENGLAND-MEN are specially interested in the market, the whale-fishery, the carrying-trade, the varied supplies, and consequently in the independence and *liberty* of South-America. Why do they not shake off their lethargy and their prejudice, and vindicate their own interests with those of South-America?

Of Mexico, (including Guatamela, Yucatau, and New-Mexico) I calculate not commercially or specifically at present,—though capable of becoming an empire in herself. With a population of 8,200,000 souls, or upwards, so advantageously situated for intercourse with other nations, she will soon force herself on their notice. “The vast kingdom of New-Spain, under a careful cultivation, would alone produce all that commerce collects together from the rest of the globe, sugar, cochineal, cacao, cotton, coffee, wheat, hemp, flax, silk, oils and wine. It would furnish every metal, without even the exception of mercury. Superb timber and an abundance of iron and copper would favour the progress of Mexican navigation; but the state of the ports” &c. on the Atlantic oppose obstacles. These will be lessened under an independent government; or rather,—ports now disused through a fearful policy will then be the resort of merchant vessels.—To understand the importance of the internal provinces we must read the perspicuous memoir of ARISPE, (read in the Cortes); his name will forever reflect credit on his country.

Mexico however has no advantage in point of fertility or commercial situations, over Venezuela, New-Grenada, or Chili: she falls short of them in various respects, as ports, fertility of soil, and regularity of climate.—Dreary *barrens* do not occur in them to any similar degree as in Mexico, from the spread of “muriate of soda and lime, nitrate of potash, and other saline substances over the surface of the soil.” A few such “efflorescences,” only are met in the northeast of Chili; but amply compensated by the exhaustless fecundity of her plains. Nor is Chili so liable to have *her* grain and maize destroyed by unseasonable frosts, and is for other reasons of incalculable advantage to the commerce of our country.* See Humboldt’s Essay on New-Spain, book I. chap. iii. and book II. chap. v.

I have likewise excepted Cuba from my estimate, because by an exception to Spanish policy its ports are become regular marts for 140,000 barrels and upwards of our flour, and pork &c. &c; and the worth of that vent is *familiar* to all our merchants. By an official statement dated at Havanna, the 31st of December 1819, it appears that of 1229 vessels which had “entered the port of Havanna, from the 1st of January preceding 616 (more than half of the whole) were American.”

We owe this intercourse to the *insurgents* of the continent. Spain could not seal up that queen of islands, in the present state of the continental provinces: the inhabitants *would not* be put under lock and

*Chili is invaluable to us as a protection to our whalers, and an everlasting store-house of fruits, refreshments, and provisions. An American officer, there, who retired from the naval service, not long since purchased a vessel, and obtained an exclusive right to fish for whales in the bay of Coquimbo, has been so fortunate that, according to recent accounts, he has acquired a fortune in a single season.

key. Aided by necessity (an auxiliary very apt to become principal!) they have thrown open the "insular Bastille," and never will they close it permanently again.---It gratifies the liberal heart to contemplate the rapid progress of letters and science in Cuba. I have just seen the first volume of a work on physical science published very recently at Havana, by Don *Felix Varela*, a professor in the college of San Carlos.---This "Philosophical Miscellany" is accompanied by a pamphlet containing a prospectus of the course of lectures and experiments.---You will hail the "glad sign"---of priests deserting mummery for philosophy.---I hope, that the dawn of this glorious light is the harbinger of *independence*, both to Mexico and Cuba.---Improvement is unusually great in this island: it is probable that the population (hordes of *slaves* included! amounts to 600,000 souls.---The entire statistical returns have not reached me; I have only the census for the city,* from which you may infer much.

Never was there a moment more pregnant with fate than the present; ---never an *occasion* so full of interest commercial and political. "The commerce of Spanish America, (says Torres) is very interesting to all nations, on account of two essential considerations. *First*,---Because that country consumes [or will consume] yearly the value of one hundred millions of dollars in articles of foreign manufacturing industry. *Secondly*,---Because it is there and only there, that all nations can obtain with facility those precious metals, which have become so necessary to trade throughout the world, and particularly with Asia; to sustain the credit of that paper-money which is now so generally adopted; and to pay the balance of commerce when unfavourable." On these accounts, we admit, that "the United States, more than other nations, have a powerful interest in an *extensive* participation of it."---We shall be faithless to ourselves, if we do not obtain our full proportion of it.

* Abstract of the statistical account of the population of the city of Havana in the island of Cuba, in the year 1817, formed and published by orders of that government on the first of November, 1819.

Total amount of the white population,	37,885
Do. of free people of color,	21,372
Do. of slaves,	24,341
Ecclesiastics and nuns,	477

84,075

Extraordinary population.

Regular troops and militia,	10,567
Negroes imported from Africa, (to one port)	24,476

119,118

Transient population.

Crews and merchants in 1040 vessels arrived that year,	29,971
Permanent and transient population.	149,089

A general statement of the whole population of the island of Cuba was to accompany this, and must be published in a short time.

If Great Britain were not jealous of our growing capacity to rival her in the commerce of Spanish-America, why would she resort to every expedient to deprive us of it? to plant thorns in the way of our mutual approach to strict friendship and commercial relations?—Why would she put her whole diplomatic magazine of artifice in requisition, in order to alienate the South-Americans from us if she did not espy palpable resources among us for a southern trade?—Why would she wage a rancorous “war in disguise” against us in Venezuela, in Buenos-Ayres, in Chili, as in every quarter of the globe, if some prenotation of our intercourse with South-America had not entered her brain?—She calculates, that a comparison on our part between a lucrative trade with South America and a losing one with Europe and India, will wean us from the latter. In a word, the *enmity of Great Britain proves that she foresees our real interests better than we ourselves do.* This is the simple truth; and, I know, you would spurn affected delicacy and political prudery as the weakest and worst of all policy.—Plain-dealing is a jewel, a republican virtue worthy of our government, lovely in itself—but *how* adorable, when contrasted with the guady attire and waving plumes, the artificial complexion and studied graces, the fetid breath, the rotten carcass, and meretricious arts of polished dissimulation! Surely we cannot be ashamed to adopt, to avow and pursue inflexibly, *an American policy.* I want no war with “principalities and powers,” but a moral, politic and intellectual one. The prudential warfare (if I may so style it) we cannot avoid, without assimilating our principles to those of monarchical governments.—*An American policy*, congenial with the republican sentiments of the Declaration of Independence, must be our chart and compass. Without steering a *steady* course, we shall neither inspire friends with confidence nor enemies with respect.—Let our ground be that of principle:—then we can be liberal towards all who heartily entertain our principles: but, if we draw the line of distinction on personal grounds, we exclude principle for avarice, ignoble jealousy, or inhospitality. At all events, let our policy be purely *American*—and such I believe it *will be.*—“Why” asked a gentleman the other day—“Why should we be content to sail in the wake of England, like those petty scavenger-birds, that follow a ship (poor parasites!) to pick up crumbs and grease?” I know this was never *intended*; and I am confident we shall begin to ply to *windward*,—leaving our secondary, leeward station forever. I allow for past difficulties that needed “wary walking.”

“The trade of nations (says the author of the manuscript memoir already cited) cannot be truly estimated without considering the elements which compose them. Old countries, overstocked with inhabitants, are very differently situated from a youthful state. In one, population, arts and commerce are seen stationary; in the other they are advancing to their zenith. This has many of her resources unspent and untouched; that has measured the full limits of hers. Population depends on the means of subsistence; commerce is circumscribed by bounds of consumption and ability for payment. To speak more in the mercantile idiom: Exportation will finally regulate importation, as no nation can continue to consume more than she produces.—In some

European states, population and commerce can advance no farther. Such is not the case of South-America. Doubling her population every quarter of a century, (or 25 years,) she will double her capital and mass of trade, until her products diminish,---which cannot happen for ages."

Passing over a series of reasoning, on the classes of inhabitants &c. (very able indeed, but more abstruse than useful,)---I resume his observations nearer the point in hand:—

"The aggregate population of Spanish-America has been calculated at fifteen millions of souls by the majority of authors. On this assumption, a proportionate representation was claimed in the late Spanish cortes for that great section of the Spanish monarchy. Later writers extend the calculation to nineteen millions—It must in candour be acknowledged that great uncertainty accompanies this kind of estimates—though they are less arbitrary than those which have been formed respecting the population of Asia, of Africa, or the whole habitable globe.---Fix the actual amount as we may, the South-Americans possess the ability of augmenting their commerce to an extent almost inconceivable. Were the past trade of South-America a rule for the future, I must maintain that it remains unascertained. Neither the total extraction of metals nor the importation of foreign merchandize, could be precisely known---the latter by reason of the contraband trade; the former from a temptation to elude the *fifths*, &c. and from the incalculable nature of customary perquisites in which miners were indulged. But, perhaps a sufficient *approximation* has been made to accuracy in the estimate of population and exportation. From a comparison of every computation in my possession, I deduce the following

TABLE OF POPULATION FOR SPANISH AMERICA.

	<i>Souls.</i>
Mexico, including Guatemala and Yucatan,	8,200,000
Cuba,	600,000
Porto-Rico and the Spanish part of Hispaniola,	185,000
Venezuela,	1,000,000
New Granada,	2,500,000
Peru,*	1,800,000
Chili,	1,200,000
Buenos-Ayres (including all the old viceroyalty.)	1,820,000
Total	<u>17,305,000</u>

"When she is tranquillized, the exportations of Spanish-America, will speedily rise to the estimate of Mr. Torres, or \$99,840,000 per annum.---If that accurate calculator has undervalued the products of Peru by near a couple of millions, he has (I think) magnified the exportations of Buenos-Ayres and Chili. At this day, owing to the unsettled state of affairs; the consumption of foreign luxuries and commo-

* I have seen her population estimated at 2,000,000, and one writer states it at 3,000,000.

dities of all sorts, cannot exceed 86,525,000 dollars, or 5 dollars per head. Col. POINSETT asserts that the value of exports from Spain to the colonies in 1778, was 500 millions of reales de vellon, or 25,000,000, and that of importations, 804 $\frac{1}{2}$ millions, or 40,225,000 dollars. This was forty-two years ago. In the interim, the population and resources of America have been more than doubled; civilization has advanced, and the people have imbibed a greater relish for foreign commodities. The rate of consumption might therefore be calculated at 6 dollars per head, if the country were undisturbed. Under all circumstances, I believe my estimate is correct."

To prove the ability *to be developed*, I need do no more than refer you to Poinsett and Bland's Reports,—the former from page 14 to 20 inclusive. Mr. P. says, that, "In the hands of freemen, sensible of its advantages, and under an enlightened government, *Chili*, from the number and variety of productions which yield the raw material of every sort of manufacture, has within herself the means of greatness; and from the number of its harbors, and great extent of coast, might carry on an extensive and lucrative commerce with the intermediate ports, with the viceroyalty of Lima, the Philippine islands, the East-Indies, and China." The former part of these observations is applicable to every section of Spanish America; the latter to Peru, New-Grenada and Mexico, because of their respective products, and possessing ports on the Pacific.

All agree in the general importance of this commerce.—It is peculiarly important to us, from the losing game we have played for several years past. In the Statistical Annals, page 276, *et seq.* we have an exhibit, that ought not to be forgotten: Dr. S. calculates the annual average for a period of 7 years, from 1795 till 1801 inclusive. Bad as the result then was, it is become decidedly worse from the change effected in the attitude of nations, exclusion from some points, and increasing disproportion with others.

BALANCE OF TRADE,

With Prussia, Germany, &c. in our favor, the former, \$75,360, the latter, \$7,468,231.

Italy, a balance for us, of \$779,594, per annum.

China and East-Indies, against us always, 2,083,088 a year.

Spain and Spanish West-Indies, against us, above 2,000,000.

Portugal and Madeira, against us, more than 500,000.

French West-Indies, against us, 6,223,303 per annum.

British-American colonies, in our favor, 205,189; with Ireland, in our favor; but with Great Britain and Ireland, &c. nearly 16,000,000 *against us!*

France, in our favor, 1,183,586, per annum.

Denmark and her dominions, in our favor, 69,199.

United Netherlands, ever in our favor, 3,047,217.

Dutch East-Indies, against us, 1,844,175.

Gibraltar, in our favor, 99,782.

Cape of Good Hope, in our favor, 58,830—but England has acquired that colony.

Russia, nearly 1,500,000, always against us.

British East-Indies, always against us, 2,517,494, per annum.

Manilla and the Philippines, against us, 114,003 a year.

Spanish-American colonies, against us, 196,306.

North-West coast and South Seas, in our favor, 183,372.

With all the world collectively, against us most *prodigiously*.

From this glance, without running into a hundred branches, you perceive how laboriously we have been employed from pole to pole, scraping up treasure, only to fling into the ungrateful lap of Great Britain, "our natural enemy."

Although we are now at a nominal peace with England, it is not invidious to recur to her oppressions and robberies upon her best customers.

"It was stated in the British House of Peers, that *six* hundred American vessels were seized or detained in British ports, between the 6th of November, 1793, and 23th March, 1794!"

From 1803, till 11th of November, 1807, she unjustly captured 528 of our vessels.

Subsequent to the orders in council, (by which she set aside the maritime laws of nations,) and antecedent to our declaration of war,—389 vessels more, making a total of 917.

This was not the most *insulting* wrong. She first debauched the habits of our merchants and traders, by compelling them to conduct neutral trade *according to British regulation!*—From 1802 till 1811 inclusive, Great Britain issued 53,277 LICENSES for re-exporting neutral products.—All which you noted as events occurred; and have no doubt since perused in *Seybert's Annals*.—I pass over impressment, because I hope that it is past.

When *the American sage* wrote his satirical attack on British assumptions, under the "similitude" of "A Prussian Edict, assuming claims over Britain," he drew a masterly picture of her pretensions.—But the most laughable usurpation (if usurpation is ever laughable,) has become history—the ironical model, written before the American revolution, has been *surpassed* since 1792.—"And that the said duty may more effectually be collected, we do hereby ordain, that all ships or vessels bound from Great Britain to any other part of the world, or from *any other part* of the world to Great Britain, shall in their respective voyages touch at our port of *Königsberg*, there to be unladen, searched and charged with the said duties."*

* For our comforts or luxuries in dress, she has been equally kind and considerate:—

"But, lest the said islanders (or Americans) should suffer inconveniency by the want of hats, we are further graciously pleased to permit them to *send their beaver furs to Prussia*, [as our wool, &c. to England,] and we also permit hats made thereof to be exported from Prussia to Britain; the people thus *favoured* to pay all costs and charges of manufacturing, interest, commission to our merchants, insurance and freight going and returning, as in the case of iron."

A curious man will not forget to compare our colonial with our independent commerce, and the pecuniar effect of the voluntary state of our trade with that of its forced condition.

It is for you, my venerable friend, and STATESMEN LIKE you, to remember outrages like these. You will not confound commerce as a *mean* of our comfort, wealth, strength and civilization, with the *end* of *society*, viz: the *liberty and felicity of the people*.

YOU will add to the appalling aggregate of loss and insult, above stated, expense of diplomatical connexions with the *courts* of Europe, their contaminating influence on republican usages; our continual attempts to cope with their extravagance, and ape their modes.—I think I see you swelling with patriotic disgust,—indignantly throwing down the paper, and starting with angry emotion, from your elbow-chair. You pace the room with hurried step;—you revolve the question again and again.—You exclaim at length, “Shall we forever cringe to Europe, when we can be the *first* in America?—How long shall we suffer ourselves to be infected by monarchical intercourse, instead of keeping our unhallowed principles in their pristine brightness, and setting a redeeming example to the states of the south?”*

When the nation ask the same questions, we may account our destiny secure,---but not before.

Whatever digression I make, whatever comparison I draw, I return to the subject confirmed in my opinion. The independence of Spanish-America will be followed by consequences the most auspicious to our political and commercial fortunes,---*provided we do our duty and improve occasions*: I resume my translation of the Memoire:---

“The enemies of the United States have insinuated with malignant pleasure, that the prosperity of our country did not rest on permanent bases. Our commercial grandeur they ascribed to the calamity of other nations; they said that foreign dearth gave value to the products of our fields; that the arts and industry of emigrant foreigners furnished our shops;---and in short, that foreign errors and violence populated our habitations, and raised our cities. The representation is evidently unjust; but perhaps, unfounded as it is, it has no bearing on the relations to be established between us and South-America.

“The United States possess a great stock in ships, and have numbers of seamen, by which they could accommodate the new nations to the South, on better terms than any other people. South-America has not these facilities, nor can she possibly acquire them for many years to come. Our mariners too possess a spirit of activity, intelligence and enterprize that will enhance their services in that carrying trade. The immense forests of North-America, converted into schooners,

* I am far, far from including the *people* of Europe with their tyrannical courts. —What path of science have they not illustrated? What region of philosophy and literature have they left unexplored or unadorned? What avenue towards Fame have they not thronged?—What field of glory have they not trodden?—I look with unutterable delight and surprise at the manly freedom of the press in various parts of France, of England and Ireland; and *sometimes* wonder at the tameness, servility, or barrenness of so many of our own. *It looks like anomaly*.—May the *despots* of Europe be *confounded* in their attempt to reduce such a people to the condition of brute beasts!

brigs and ships, by our mechanics, will not be an insignificant acquisition for the south, nor a bad speculation for ourselves. Every expedition dispatched for those ports by the American merchant, will be turned into a trading-voyage (*viage de circulo*) to the East-Indies with the precious metals, abounding in all the dominions southward. The direct incentive of these metals (drawn heretofore circuitously from Spain) on the arts and productive industry of these states, will produce effects as novel as beneficial; and the whale-fishery, liable until now to so many difficulties, will be rendered easier, safer, and in all probability more lucrative to the Americans.

"The United States will see the necessity of guarding their rear on the North-West coast, and the occupation of Columbia river, &c. seems to have been directed to this prudent purpose. If Buenos-Ayres and Chili maintain their independence, the American government may have a couple of friendly nations (and be it remembered, *American* nations) to serve as *links* of connexion with its possessions in the West.--*Europe*, we know, has begun to cast a longing eye even on those desert coasts; and a *Russian* squadron is rumored to be on their voyage to hoist their flag in *California*. An *English* squadron is probably steering for those seas; and notwithstanding the numerous speculations made on the cession of Cuba, it appears more probable that the principal of the debt due to the British will be paid by the transfer of Manilla and the Philippines,---and the *interest* (*los reditos*) by the seizure of some *other* points on the shores of *La Plata*, or on the *Pacific*.---Mark my words.

"It is an impossibility to suggest any thing new on this matter to the consideration of a politician; but I cannot help remarking, that something more than a *rigorous stoicism* is to be expected from the government of the United States in this momentous concern,---the greatest ever presented to the notice of nations since the discovery of America.---I affirm, that *it is not enough to await events; we must direct them*.---I mean, we must succour the friends of freedom. If the independence of the South prove abortive, Spanish America will become again what she was before,---a *country hermetically sealed and secluded as if she had no existence*; lost only to the United States, but not barred against European nations."

As for Manilla, it is an inferior object in the eye of England: she took it once in an expedition from Madras, and can reduce it when she pleases. She harbors grander schemes, I think.

The eloquent writer "On the Colonies" has well portrayed the *bold* and *persevering* system pursued by Great-Britain for controlling the commerce and politics of all nations. The *stations* she has chosen on every sea render her mistress of all colonies, and lay all other nations under an interdict as to naval power, page 129.---Thus she enjoys nearly all the commerce of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf.---"By means of all the parts of this whole, thus perfectly linked together, *she is present at all points of the universe*: she draws wealth of every kind from the very fountain-heads, and can supply Europe with every thing which she fancies or needs." He elsewhere takes a closer

VIEW OF THE GIGANTIC DESIGNS AND UNALTERABLE POLICY OF ENGLAND.

"In Gibraltar, England carries the keys of the Mediterranean: in Malta she occupies the centre of it; in Corfu, she has one eye on the Adriatic, and the other on Greece;—at the Cape of Good-Hope, and the Isle of France, she commands the road to India; in Malabar, in Ceylon and the Coromandel coast, she, in a manner, clasps opulent India in her arms, from the Indus to the source of the Ganges; at St. Helena she is placed between the seas of Africa and America; by means of New-Holland she will become in time mistress of the South-Sea; at Trinidad [or Demerara] she has one foot on the Spanish continent; at St. Lucia, she nullifies and curbs Martinique; by means of Antigua [Jamaica] and Barbadoes, she watches the Havana and Porto Rico; in fine, by the occupation of Canada and Newfoundland she closes that *immense chain of posts which she has drawn round the globe to subject it to her DOMINION and her COMMERCE, two things which she never separates*, and for which she has formed arsenals and warehouses every where—the double basis of her power."

These are advantages "which give England a double line of maritime posts, behind which she can equally defend herself, and pounce upon her enemy who is not able to return her attacks. The traces of this plan are too plainly marked in the care which England has taken to place herself right *opposite all the fortified points* which belong to other powers, so that none can mistake her views. In this manner has she established herself at St. Lucia, at the Isle of France, and at Ceylon, for the purpose of frustrating every thing which might be opposed to her." (p. 301-302.)

What an anxious *yearning* the British entertain,—how covetously they hanker after the exclusive possession and trade of Buenos-Ayres and Peru, is demonstrated by their policy since 1740. By occupying Buenos-Ayres and fortifying Santa-Fe, they intended to dictate laws to the South, and monopolize its treasures. The English oligarchs and mercantile body united by inseparable bonds, never relinquish a great design; and the various methods and stratagems by which they prosecute it, declare their invariable purposes.

To obtain dominion over the La Plata, the Paraguay and their shores, is a *favorite* project of the English cabinet:—"If we could ever be able to settle our trade effectually this way," said Posthlethwayt, "we should utterly ruin the manufacture at Quito in a few years."

"This is an article of great importance to England. If we were once *nested* here securely, (which if we can ever be persuaded to undertake heartily, I do not in the least doubt may be easily effected in time of war, and our possessions securely maintained,) we should be able in despite of both French and Spaniards, to enjoy a more lucrative trade than ever with South-America. For, *Buenos-Ayres* and the country depending on it, afford several commodities that *Peru* cannot be without," &c. &c.

He continues his explanation of the commerce of that country, its horses and mules, its mines, the value of the far-famed "herb of Paraguay," then brought in "packs" to *Santa-Fe*, whence it was transported to Chili and Peru. To engross this branch of trade, appeared a *sine qua non*:—

"If ever we become possessed of *Buenos-Ayres*, we must likewise fortify *Santa-Fe*, (which at present contains not many houses, without any great fortification) and take *Assumption* and settle it with a colony of our own."—This, he presumed, would be an easy undertaking, as it had only 1000 families, and "was settled by a people that had by their laziness and ill-management outrun their fortunes in Peru."

Negroes could be supplied more economically by England than any other people, or even the South-Sea Company; as she manufactured seventy of the eighty commodities employed in the Guinea trade.

"It is very obvious therefore, to every common eye, that if we can ever settle ourselves at Buenos-Ayres, the Spaniards will be under an absolute necessity to open a trade with us; nay, it is in our power to impose what terms we please upon them: but if we had no other way to obtain it, than the affording our goods as cheap again as they can furnish themselves with the other way, even that with a little patience, would infallibly produce it. But, without trusting to that, we should have them in a manner at our mercy, by having the herb of Paraguay in our hands."

Again, "If my countrymen have this at heart, as one would think there should be little reason to doubt of, let them turn their thoughts upon Buenos-Ayres or Chili; but, the first is to be preferred for many reasons"—as from Buenos-Ayres and Paraguay they could more effectually controul Peru.

Postlethwayt's colonial plan of settlements, reminds us of the punctual orders given more lately to generals Crawford, Berresford, and Whitelock, *not to make any change* (in the event of conquering Chili and Buenos-Ayres) *except the necessary substitution of the title and power of the king of England for those of the king of Spain*.

"In the peopling Buenos-Ayres, if ever it should become the British possession, I advise my country to follow the *Turkish policy*, and make the people hold their land by the same tenure as their Timariote; only it should descend to their heirs, upon keeping or observing the original contract: which is, to be ready to come completely armed to the appointed rendezvous, and serve wherever, and as long as the government requires."

English principles of *dependency*, as banks, patronage &c. would be quite as potent as the semi-feudality of the Turks.

"When this acquisition is once made, you need never fear procuring inhabitants, for there will be more occasion for the bridle than the spur."

"That this place might have been as easily taken at the commencement of the last war [in 1740] as Porto-Bello, is little to be doubted."

In his "Remarks" on the same subject, after the treaty of 1763, Postlethwayt kindles new hopes that a new war may grow out of the alleged maltreatment of British logwood-cutters.

"Should this prove the case, and we should be obliged to come to a fresh rupture with Spain, the fulness of time seems then to be come to compel us to put an end to the Spanish power in America: And as we are now very happily situated, by virtue of the last treaty to deprive them of their *Mexican* treasures, why not also of their *Peruvian*?—And Buenos-Ayres, down the river La Plata, being the receptacle of a

part of the treasures from Peru, why should this be unthought of longer? Why should not at length a partition of the richest parts of *Spanish-America* take effect?" &c. [See articles *Paraguay* and *La Plata*, in *Postlethwayt*.]

Postlethwayt alludes to the acquisition of Florida by Great Britain, by the definitive treaty of February 1763, a territory which (fortunately for us,) she lost during our revolutionary war. From thence and from Jamaica, the invasion of Mexico and the re-occupation of Cuba, appeared no arduous enterprize.—Florida was ceded in return for *Havana*,—and the great district around it captured so gallantly by the earl of Albermarle and admiral Pococke. Their means were formidable,* but the works they stormed seemed almost impregnable. The object of that atchievment is not yet forgotten,—to acquire the "*key of the gulph of Mexico*," and the centre of the Spanish trade and navigation in the New World."—If England relinquish her designs for a moment on one point, it will be to direct them to another of more importance.—At present, she would scarcely risk a war for Cuba,—I suspect.

Her renewed attempts on the territories of *La Plata* in 1806 and 1807 need hardly be repeated, if they did not display another illustration of her *inflexible* policy—in executing the ambitious projects which she had cherished for at least *sixty-seven years*.—"The generals on the Atlantic and Pacific were instructed to establish a line of military posts across the continent;" and those positions would promote their ulterior operations against Peru &c. as circumstances should dictate. (See Poinsett's Report, p. 54; and Bland's Report on Buenos Ayres, p. 44.)

One campaign of *calico*, finesse and *influence*, has latterly been more successful for Britain in *La Plata* than could an army of 20,000 men have been. She has so embroiled parties through the means of Brazilian and her own manœuvres, that she may be said to have *annulled the revolution*. Portugal is played off against Spain, and both are moved, or paralyzed by her veteran management. No nation likes her; yet she sways all the potentates of the earth. This dreads her power; that receives her bribe; a third courts her alliance; a fourth hopes to effectuate a diplomatic diversion by her name. She manages all according to the interests of her nobles and monopolists.

She may possibly have abandoned the hope of acquiring Cuba, but would doubtless demand it for the purpose of extorting from Ferdinand the cession of some other portion of his crumbling empire. She *may* rest satisfied with *Jamaica*, since she could not fix her lever at New

* This expedition "consisted of 19 ships of the line, 18 frigates and sloops, and about 150 transports with 10,000 soldiers on board; who were to be joined by 4000 men from North-America.—The Morro on the east of the harbour, was stormed, after a breach had been effected by springing a mine, when the Spanish troops very generally behaved with timidity; but governor Velasco "gloriously fell in defending the ensign of Spain, which no entreaties could induce him to strike." The marquis Gonzalez, second in command, also met an honorable death in his efforts to rally the fugitives.—Britain was victorious in every clime in that war—acquired Canada &c. Rodney took Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Martinique; and Cornish and Draper captured Manilla, the capital of the Philippine Islands.

ORLEANS,—(thanks, *eternal* thanks to the INCOMPARABLE JACKSON:) but, suppose whatever we choose, we cannot imagine that she will desist from crossing the line of our policy and frustrating our designs. She will ever ingeniously retard what she cannot ultimately prevent; and while she suspends the decision of the Spanish cabinet about the barren peninsula of Florida, she throws us (or endeavors to throw us) to the rearward in our relations with South-America,—*relations ten times more estimable to us than those with all the world beside.*

It is not from the inglorious desire of carping at the character of Great Britain, that I recapitulate her cupidity, or point with a finger of warning at the immeasurable magnitude of her ambition. I admire her *perseverance* and her *enterprise* while I detest her envious motives, her implacable spirit, her insatiable thirst of gold.—She is the Atlas of oppression, and the centre of crusades: her Cyclopiian island is the workshop of war.—There its bolts are ceaselessly forged, and thence are they hurled. Her malignant activity is surprising.—*We want a little infusion of her inflexibility,—a little more of her decision and forecast* to render us the admiration, the boast and pride of the continent. We should not adopt ephemeral expedients, but cast a deliberative look at the past and the future; and legislate on a system framed to last forever.—Younger nations fix their eyes upon us as their natural bulwark; and God forbid that we should deceive their hopes!—Our advantage and glory are situate together.—De Pradt is of opinion, that if Napoleon had employed his resources in emancipating South-America, instead of risking them in wars with England and Russia, he would have delivered Europe and France from those chains which the maritime superiority of England imposes on them.—But, it is fortunate that he had no other agency in it than setting it in motion by his aggressions on Spain. Haters of freedom cannot be friends to mankind. It would be doing nothing to wrest colonies from Spain, without relieving them from thralldom. Napoleon despised the multitude too sincerely to think them worthy of liberty; at any rate, he affected this sentiment after his own apostacy. *Too much power ever transforms the possessor:* but, the very sight of civil honors turned *his* head, and made him a usurper.—The eloquent Levite himself cannot relinquish the idea of royalty and catholicism. He would *monarchise* the new governments, with the experience of Europe and the world in his ken. He would hand over the people from one tyranny to another—and yet, he believes himself a philanthropist—perhaps he *is* one, but sees and feels the impossibility of extricating Europeans from their triple chains, and infers that trans-Atlantic communities cannot be differently moulded! He generously writes, “to show mankind that they have no true interest but that of their species—that the source of most abundant prosperity for one nation is the prosperity which it diffuses through another;” and yet he would subject them to the curse of monarchy [and hierarchy] with Samuel’s warning before him.*—An order

* “Duty and personal feeling have induced us to point out the dangers which arise to royalty and the Catholic religion from the prolonged struggle between

of men accustomed to dogmatize, and to subjugate the human mind, cannot give up their claims to dominion!--We must make allowance for the influence of priestly education; and seeing how difficult it is to emancipate the judgment from early shackles, you will thank the ex-bishop for having written even so well.

As we enter into the feelings of our South-American brothers, from the generous desire of beholding a termination of Spanish despotism, so we are anxious, to see them rest from their revolutionary labors under a rational system of self-government. We ought to shudder at the idea of seeing monarchies springing up around us in every direction. Let the Atlantic be a political boundary as well as a natural one; monarchies (if it must be so,) on that side;--republics on this. There would then be sufficient homogeneity there and here to maintain social concord. Then would there be enough of congeniality to bind together the respective parts by a moral "attraction of cohesion." At the same time the moral and political repulsion between Europe and America would be mutually preservative of our several principles, and preventive of hostilities. We should act on a thorough conviction of each other's maxims, and pursue the customary intercourse of nations without familiarity. Aware of the impossibility of *friendship*, we would venture to approach no nearer than *respect*. Civility would satisfy both parties: too distant for collision,--too dissimilar for disputes. For, moral space divides nations more effectually than seas and Alps; or degrees of latitude and longitude. Religious and political bickerings in all ages and countries attest this remarkable fact. The fiercest animosities have been kindled among professors of similar tenets, or adherents of the same party, with a *shade* of special difference hardly discernible, and unworthy of a rational mind. Sects, on the contrary, who differ from each other *toto cælo*, stand too far asunder for union or disputation. As they despair of converting or ruling one another, they avoid controversy; they mutually view and treat each other as fellow-men, not as political sectaries who hold any principles or creed in common. Opposites here may be said to agree, and extremes to unite; while proximity engenders a border-war. Nor Friendship nor sympathy nor hatred regulate national intercourse. Commercial convenience and benefit are sufficient.--Diplomatic profession itself does not trade in specific compliments adapted to soothe national prejudice or flatter governmental vice--it certainly does not make one or other the basis of commercial connection. We do not assure *Alexander the Deliverer*, that we would import his Sable (or Siberian) iron, because we know that his most sacred and imperial majesty never uses it for *fetters* or *branding irons*, in his free and indulgent government, and may therefore spare some of that merchandize to us; neither do we

Spain and America." *Again*: "In the number of [South] American constitutions which we have seen, we have not met with one which included a single word referring to royalty; on the contrary all are struck with a deep dye of republicanism, and lean more to the institutions of the United States than to those of Europe. The *danger* is so much the greater, as no country equals [or has equalled] in prosperity that of the United States." (Preface p. 10.)

receive his hemp from Riga, &c. on the complimentary presumption, that there are no culprits in "all the Russias" who fear its *stricture*.—We do not prostrate ourselves before the grand Sultan, make a speech on his divinity, or that of the Koran, and abjure the crusades, (foolish and wicked as they were,) in order to obtain opium from Smyrna, to help us to forget them,—or permission to trade with his enviable slaves. Our traders care not "a fig for the Sultan and Sophi." We do not, as I believe, even make a palinody to king George III. "of glorious and immortal memory," Defender of the Faith &c. telling him how sorry we are for the unholy rebellion of 1775–6,—that we are sensible of our stubbornness towards the "Lord's anointed," and in filial contrition crave the privilege of importing his glassware, to drink brimmers to his Britannic majesty's health and long life, and to pledge ourselves in sacramental fealty "to him and his heirs forever." He may flatter himself, that our reliance on his spinners and weavers for calico and woollens to cover our nakedness, is a symptom of our returning allegiance, but he is mistaken. It is rather owing to our general ignorance of the *superior* advantages of internal circulation that we have such blind avidity for external commerce: for, it is a common proverb, that—*there's no friendship in trade*. If there be any such sentiment, I own that I never saw an item of it either in an invoice or price-current. His Britannic Majesty may still have some *friends*, and he *had* more amongst us. A *few* were attached to him in the East and in our great towns, from a partiality for monarchy, or from party-blindness,—but the majority must have been *Swiss friends*, ready to serve any power for gain:

Menea la cola el can,
No por ti, sino por el pan.

i. e. Cerberus wags not his tail for thee, but for the sop.

Our foreign trade then has little dependence on friendship, and has not a shadow of political reason in it, apart from our unfortunate plan of imposts—on which our revenue depends.—With our Southern brothers our relations might be very different: Political motives, strong as those of self-preservation, dictate firm amity between us.—Friendship might here have some influence on trade, if trade has none on friendship.—Should we gradually withdraw our diplomacy from Europe it would not imply enmity, any more than a man's living pretty closely on his own farm would denote a grudge to his neighbour. Except in courtesy, independent men and nations care not for each other's opinions.—With those of the south even this general truth has its exceptions.—There let us lay an anchor.—By receding from European policy and opinions, we retire from broils, not from commerce. America is the home we should exclusively study to fortify, to honor, preserve and embellish.

But, if one or two European cabinets conceive hopes of proselytism on this continent, the aspect of this sunny sky is instantly overcast, and storms and darkness deform the bright face of day. Royal machinators would commence an open or secret crusade against the "rights of man," spread their creeds by purse and sword, and baptize their converts in the blood of martyred republicans. Where there is the

faintest hope of triumph, they will purchase it at any price. I leave you, my friend, to prosecute this delicate subject through all its windings and probabilities. *I have put hypothesis for fact. Much of the supposed evil has occurred.* The same machinations that undermine the rising edifice of her civil liberty, would secure the resources of South-America for the support of foreign despotic governments in membership with the "Holy Alliance."—I should like to see this continent stand alone, but heaven forbid that we should stand alone on the continent!

If we survey our government as the *exemplar* for South-America, in any respect national or federal; if we reflect that the eyes of the world are upon us; how should it inflame our ardour, to play the dignified part of leader, pattern and protector! How cautiously yet firmly, should we move, where every step we take may be imitated!—The hopes and solicitudes of the oppressed of all nations converge towards us. Reformers argue the practicability of civil liberty from our experiment.—If they should behold us frittering away free institutions by a compromise between freedom and servitude,—how would their hearts sink within them! They would turn hopeless away, and deem it useless to erect altars to freedom, which the interested, the unreflecting and the venal were equally eager to demolish.—Let us endeavor to hide such pernicious patterns as we cannot remove at the moment, and hold forth for imitation the natural, incontrovertible principles of the *Declaration of Independence*. Republics have no pledge of duration, and no title to respect, but in the maintenance of equal rights.—Desirous as I am of beholding sister republics in South-America, I am more infinitely desirous of preserving our own in health, beauty, purity and energy to an unparalleled longevity.—We have the power of maiming the cause of freedom more incurably than the *Holy Alliance*. Such would be the frightful influence of anti-republican innovations here, on reformation in other countries. * * *

* * * * *

The enemies of liberty always draw their most specious arguments from the treacherous abuses of its professed friends and exclusive guardians.—Let us strain unnatural concessions no farther. * * * * * In hope of seeing the angry clouds dispersed that appear above our horizon,—let us take another glance at the benign results of South-American independence. To us it will be productive of many advantages.

Free governments may be instituted there, which if not in alliance, will be in amity with us. As neither will be inspired with the fell spirit of conquest, we shall have nothing to apprehend, but much to hope from each other. We shall mutually discard all intrigue from relations founded in justice and sympathy.

Maritime law has fluctuated in Europe with the will of the dominant potentates;—and we have suffered under every innovation, especially since England became mistress of the ocean. May not the restoration of rights on the land (in this hemisphere) prove the glad harbinger of their re-establishment at sea?

Whatever aberrations may happen in the infancy of states, or during the arduous stages of revolution,---free governments in the south will

not transcend the essential provisions of the law of nations. On the contrary, they will see security for their own rights in respecting those of others. They will co-operate in the glorious work of enfranchising the seas, now tributary (in a great measure,) to the stronger. Therefore,

They will not presume to impress our seamen.

They will not audaciously try to starve a great nation or a feeble one, nor embargo our freighted ships in their ports, as one of the means.

They will not compel our merchant vessels to pay tribute to them, nor undertake to *license* a fair and lawful commerce, (unlawfully and previously interdicted,) in order to raise a revenue by the sale of admiralty permissions and indulgences.

They will not poison our politics through mercantile and diplomatic channels;—will not inflame disaffection in the first place, and next dispatch a secret emissary to accomplish a secession from the Union, and a confederacy of New-England with Canada and Nova-Scotia.

We are in danger of none of these vexations from our friends in the South. Nay, rather,

They will stimulate us to improvement by countenance and fellowship, and snatch us from the perils of a too flattering contrast, by furnishing a juster standard of comparison than exists between us and the tyrannized nations of Europe.—Nations are prone to imbibe arrogance from real or fancied superiority, if the “flattering unction” be thickly plastered on their self-love. Thus some ancient states rated as barbarians, people as good as themselves.—States, like individuals, cannot exalt their dignity by looking haughtily downward, but by pressing emulously upward.—LET US GLO-
RIFY IN OUR PRINCIPLES, BUT LET US BE INTENT ON THEIR PRE-
SERVATION.

They will rival us in the arts and sciences; they will nobly cultivate the flowery field of literature, and spur us to an intellectual race in which we must outstrip our former speed.

The governments of the South will probably aid us in future wars, and their population and territory lay open a rich commerce to our enterprize. If I have not expatiated more particularly on this part of the subject, it is because men of reading like yourself, and practical merchants can follow the *minutiæ* of it without a second hint.

The counterpart of it leads us to a slight review of domestic interests, at the risk of some repetition.

If tautology were excusable in enforcing attention to considerations of primary importance, I would here repeat some monitory circumstances that seem peculiarly to enhance the worth of this trade.—*It is time to trace, if not to settle, the boundaries between our DOMESTIC INDUSTRY AND FOREIGN COMMERCE,*—to divide our cares between them, and give *just* encouragement to each. It is high time to ingraft more durable principles of economy on our code, and to prevent a revival of the awful distresses from which, I fear, we are scarcely yet beginning to recover. Society has been shaken to its foundations, and shudders

at the idea of similar ruin. They have witnessed the delirium of banking, and the seductive lures of speculation; credit stretched to its utmost, and snapped to pieces by an insupportable weight; the country precipitating itself on the towns to realize its "South-sea dreams," and reap a golden harvest. They had watched the progress of fascination to bankruptcy, and saw the seaports giving back its disappointed population to the country, with nothing left but sad experience, to compensate their losses.—The community is yet unsettled after the recent shocks like the ocean after a tempest. They call for securities against a renewal of the scenes of pillage, and are feverishly anxious till they obtain them. They sigh for some immoveable mound against the inundation of paper-money, which has snatched off so much solid property without equivalent: "as ocean sweeps the laboured mole away." They want to see *the demon chained* that bore off their wealth, as a falcon its prey; they pine under privilege, and demand its reduction to the level of right.* In the commerce of South-America, and in our *domestic industry*, manufacturing and agricultural, (a *steady* and equitable legislation always presupposed,) I see a prospective and certain antidote to the malignant ills that have scourged us.—It has been related of the ancient Brachmans and Magi of the east, that they could *foretell* tempests, earthquakes, droughts, and other natural calamities, long before their occurrence,—so profound was their discernment of physical prognostics and causes. A like foresight in the active concerns of life is "devoutly to be wished" for; but cannot be attained without a clear comprehension of the principles of social prosperity. Late derangement and present suffering rebuke our vanity and repel our pretensions to superior sagacity—but they may teach prudence.—So, let us tread round the circle as we may, we arrive *again* at the original point.

In accommodating new arrangements to the actual and approaching relations of the world, I say, we must give due weight to the traffick of the South. It is specially different from our European trade, which

* What stronger proofs of depredation under the credit-system can we have, than the numerous acts passed in many of the states, to stay executions for the recovery of debt? It has been decided by several judges (who assume the power of controuling every thing right or wrong, now-a-days,) that these laws were unconstitutional, and null, as impairing the obligation of contract. And so they undoubtedly appear to be. But, observe how their doctrine holds! Property is protected by all our constitutions as a *sacred right*,—not to be invaded or violated.—Proprietors reposed in security.—By and by, comes a rage for banks; a whirlwind of speculation sweeps over the land, and leaves many a rich man houseless. His property went in exchange for a paper-sign; and the signs, after cheapening money, changing prices, and dissipating property to an unprecedented degree, are diminished as suddenly and destructively.—None but brokers and bankers could command the magic *sign* of value. In the sacrifice that ensued, the legislatures endeavoured to alleviate calamity by staying execution, and allowing time for settlement, &c. "No," say the judges, with their consistent logick,—"*you shall not interpose in favour of misery; we condemn the EFFECT, but approve the CAUSE.*" You may produce mischief, but cannot heal it: great and fundamental compacts may be violated; but secondary contracts are of paramount, inviolable obligation."

shears us annually like sheep of our native wealth: it is the reverse of the China and East Indian commerce, which swallows our specie for superfluities and unwholesome luxuries.---It will employ a great portion of our shipping and seamen in a *productive* traffick,---which brings us a *clear gain*, and that to a considerable amount, encreasing from year to year.---It will be carried on with the people of junior states, inclined to expect fraternal counsel, example and assistance from an elder branch of the continental family. They would gladly reciprocate our kindness.--Let us foment these feelings and advantages. Let us withdraw *politically* and eternally from Europe, and cherish every germ of republicanism, and every source of commerce at our door.

Were the question now to be determined, whether we should plunge so deeply in foreign to the prostration of internal trade, I would raise my voice and entreat you to lift yours, against an *excessive* patronage of the former. It has introduced monarchical ideas and extravagant habits among us, has banished simplicity of living, and substituted at once the extreme of luxury. Devotion to wealth and splendour has greatly superseded the civic, homespun, unostentatious virtues of moderation, frugality, and probity.—But, we have passed the Rubicon.—Neither the Spartan nor the Chinese systems will suit us.—We cannot (if it were wise) adopt iron money, black broth, and hard exercise, nor lay aside navigation and commerce. Let us now direct as carefully as possible what we cannot undo; and raise the drooping heads of our domestic manufacturers, and cheer the genius of internal trade. He must indeed be an unskilful statesman who thinks that a nation of 10,000,000 of souls, doubling their numbers every 25 or 30 years, can flourish (or even exist) by agriculture alone. A farm is only a manufactory; and one manufactory which can treble the value of materials prepared in another, cannot be depressed without depressing national strength.—All the people cannot subsist as the owners of a southern plantation; *they must be protected in their respective callings*. It is not expedient to sacrifice one class of inhabitants to another. Such a wretched policy could only proceed from narrow views and local feelings.—It is contemptible, originate where it may.—Why tie up the hands of industry in the middle states? If our cotton and tobacco alone can find a profitable foreign market, (and that is precarious) we must create a home market—we must cherish domestic manufactures. *Without internal circulation we possess no strength, no financial basis to support us in an emergency*. We have too many shopkeepers;—we lack manufacturers; and never can exhibit any thing but feebleness without them.

We will be as serviceable to the South-Americans as they to us, *if we seize the occasion*. Let us procrastinate our duty no longer: let us not verify the Italian proverb, once applied by Dr. FRANKLIN (with far less reason) to another people.* “When it is too late they are

*“The English *feel* but do not *see*.” i. e. are not insensible of inconveniences when present, but do not foresee and prevent them. (See Plain Truth, page 222 vol. IV. of Franklin’s Works.)

sensible of their imprudence: *after* great fires they provide buckets and engines: *after* a pestilence, they think of keeping clean the streets and common sewers; and when a town has been sacked by their enemies, they provide for its defence."

Services deferred beyond the trying moment would possibly be suspected of selfish motives. Kind offices cannot be tendered *with a good grace* out of season. If we wait until the crisis is over, we may as well wait forever.—Waving the justifiable motives of our policy, which are *unseen by them*, and therefore unacknowledged, and making the case an individual one, (*in their view of it*) it will be too intelligible to be mistaken. A person of good repute falls into poverty, and in his straits applies for loans: but is universally repulsed, sometimes insulted. He suddenly inherits a great legacy; and the beams of fortune recall his swarm of insect-friends who live only in sunshine. The very brokers are now obsequious, and all are cordial: in passing through the streets he receives continual salutes;—his house is thronged: greeting and congratulation circulate as briskly as burgundy. Offers come now unbidden. The usurer would lend to *him*, as a special favor, only at 10 per cent. Sycophants and all sorts of "knee-crooking knaves" wonder how they had lately fallen into such egregious blunders: Their host really appeared *in a new light*. What malice could have misrepresented him? What infatuation had bewildered them? The worthy man, as steady in prosperity as he had been in adversity, perceives the baseness of the parasites, and despises their overtures.—His bounties fall among them, as crumbs among spaniels: he scorns them while they guzzle his wine and devour his viands,—though he strives to conceal his contempt out of reverence for the household gods, or the rites of hospitality. It is not trespassing the limits of probability—to conceive such equanimity and feeling in a government as in a private individual. All must revere

"A man that Fortune's buffets and rewards
Has ta'en with equal thanks: And bless'd are those,
Whose blood and judgment are so well comingled,
That they are not a pipe for Fortune's finger
To sound what stop she please."

Let one supposed instance serve for fifty. Actions must be well-timed. Nobody is grateful to the dying miser for bequeathing his treasure;—he is ridiculed even by his heirs, who know that he would not have left a doit behind, could he have carried it with him.

Remember sir, that *I* do not liken this conduct to our policy;—*I am exhibiting the invidious light in which foreign agents and merchants take care to set it*. They give it the most miserly aspect that imagination can form—Consequently our acts, however intended, are seen abroad with a jaundiced eye, except where a few of our *faithful* agents and citizens have represented them fairly. To wrench this foil from our enemy's hand, it is indispensably necessary to act so unequivocally as to set distortion at defiance. Such I believe will be our conduct. I do not propose incautious proceedings—nor recommend anything out of the bounds of neutral and amicable intercourse. Let our citizens sell or carry every article of commerce to every part of Spain—

ish America. Let us leave that commerce "unembarrassed by too much regulation."

Shortly after the celebrated THOMAS PAINE had suggested a "*Continental Conference*," and sketched beforehand that bold outline of procedure for the quondam colonies, which eventuated in the "Declaration of Independence," he renewed his exhortations to the states.—"*The continental belt* (said he) *is too loosely buckled*: and if something be not done in time, it will be too late to do anything. We may, (to parody some of his words) we may fall into a state in which neither reconciliation nor reciprocation will be practicable."

This is the evil I am so anxious to prevent. The beneficent acts of a liberal policy cannot be safely withheld much longer. I assert this with a deliberative view of the delicacy of our situation. I have endeavoured to survey our foreign relations with care; and that survey corroborates my opinion of the *necessity of friendship with South-America*.—Looking over all America, I behold the "continental belt too loosely buckled." The happy opportunity of tightening our union *may* now be offered for the last time!—To tender services a few months hence, may be as superfluous as presenting a mantle to Spring after she has put on her verdant livery, and glows in all the freshness of renovated nature.

A prospect of glory is opening in Spanish-America. Things look auspiciously in *Venezuela* and *New-Granada*. Civil liberty will succeed, if patriots here and there and elsewhere, manfully discharge their duty. I hope, they will. If not, the failure will not be with you.—In this confidence, I remain, sir, &c.

Unchangeably

A FRIEND OF TRUTH and SOUND POLICY.

To the Hon.———, }
Washington. }

January 25th 1820.

My respected friend,

An esteemed acquaintance, and your old revolutionary comrade major S****, having honoured me with a visit on his way to Washington, I avail myself of his politeness to transmit with this "critical" note, my letter of the 20th, and sundry documents explanatory of events, intrigues and parties in Buenos-Ayres and Chili.—I naturally repeat my respects to you in renewing my homage to true principles; for, I discover that by "association and location of ideas," I have been practising *mnemonics* half my life without knowing it;—not quite so methodically as I hope to do in future, by dint of the discipline in which Mr. *Manners* is initiating the Philadelphians. By the way, these *mnemonics* may serve as remembrancers of the doctrines of 1776,—since buried so deeply under new-fangled rubbish. We have need of their resurrection. They will serve to measure novel assertions and ingenious sophistry by the immutable standard of first principles.—They may remind statesmen of the past, obliging them to think on the

world that was, when they are legislating on the most critical matters for posterity: They will teach from the archives of history that whatever sacrifices we must make, should be for civil liberty, not for servitude; and admonish us not to stretch a temporary concession to endless duration, but to eradicate bad principles like weeds, before they have struck deep root.—They will demonstrate from the experience of ages, that “orders of men” uniformly strive to engross power and extend their sway, at the expense of the people: Ecclesiastics never voluntarily relinquish power: nobles do not part with it: party-leaders never give it up;—and lawyers never surrender it. Like kings they all labor to accumulate more authority, and to increase their prerogative to the utmost. What the people once give up, they never can recover but by violence.—Mnemonicks therefore, would advise the multitude to keep the reins in their own hand, else state-jockeys will drive the state-coach to perdition.—The same causes that butchered political freedom in other countries, would destroy it in our own.

Until I have leisure for framing a historical digest of revolutionary occurrences, political and military, in Buenos-Ayres and Chili, these papers will convince *you* of the disingenuousness of the “Voyage” on which I have animadverted. Enough has been cited to show, that its author is inaccurate; that he is partial; that he is presumptuous; that he is malevolent; and (worse than all!) that *he was so ungenerous as to assail the persecuted, and so cruel as to attack the defenceless.*—I was INDIGNANT at such a tirade against the REPUBLICAN PARTY in the South, and repelled it with force. You will perceive, however, that I was LENIENT, compared with what I might have urged against his garbling the candid letter of ————, and inveighing against ———— under such circumstances. Read the whole, and—wonder! Col. D———’s very lucid narrative of Buenos-Ayrean revolutions, of the project of monarchy, of Belgrano’s royalist proclamation of 1817, on taking command of the army of Upper Peru,—the independent comments of the *Cronica Argentina* and the consequent banishment of its editor and correspondent; the subversion of the trial by jury,—the justification set up by Dr. *Saenz* for the monarchical scheme,* the extracts from the *Censor*, will convince the most incredulous, of the black machinations of certain chiefs.—I forward by the same conveyance, the publications made by the exiles in Baltimore, in 1817 and 1818, with the anonymous and official attempts to answer them in Buenos-Ayres.—I send you (in number 4,) twelve original private letters, written at sundry times and places by the gallant *Carrera* to myself; you will perceive frequent reference to conversations in New-York, during an intimacy of ten months, when he used to anticipate the liberation of his beloved country, with indescribable enthusiasm; would so unreservedly state his plans of melioration by destroying ecclesiastical privilege, by patronizing education, by protecting a free press and the

*“Be not frightened, my dear friend, (said Dr. S. to the enraged editor of the Argentine Chronicle,) at the idea of the Incas. We must prepare the means of forming a durable government, and this is a step towards accustoming the people to a monarchical one.

elective franchise, by encouraging all the USEFUL ARTS.—He used to say, that a dozen skilful mechanics, who would instruct the Chilians, were better than an army, and ten times more serviceable than all the priests, lawyers and *escribanos* in the country. When he unbosomed himself to his familiar friends, he would expatiate on these subjects with an ardour and an eloquence that enchanted the company.—A gentleman, who was frequently one of the party on those occasions,—after trying to disbelieve the rumour (circulated in November last) of this illustrious man's assassination, and being disgusted with the calumnies against him, wrote to me in these terms, on the 16th of November.

"I have an uncommon and heartfelt interest in his safety and success. I have so often listened to his enthusiastic accents when dwelling on the hopes of his country,—so often witnessed his entire devotedness to her cause,—so often been impressed with the belief that he was an instrument in the hands of fate, possessed of every quality of head and heart, to secure the invaluable blessings for which she struggles! I need not tell you how impatiently I wait for the *Expose* promised in your last, nor how eagerly I shall "devour up a discourse," which shall exculpate our glorious friend from the slanders of his enemies, the common enemies of the human race."

Lest you should be as impatient as my New-York correspondent, I send for your perusal, two newspapers containing an exposition of events connected with general Carrera's Memoire to the congress of Buenos-Ayres, reported to be from the pen of the worthy and intelligent colonel Poinsett, of South-Carolina. This paper was written to explain events in Chili, &c. and to pourtray the republican character and conduct of general Carrera and his associates; and lo! the "voyager" mangles one sentence of it, and cites a line or the fragment of a line to prove the contrary! This mutilation is exactly analogous to that (so often instanced) of quoting the Bible to shew that "there is no God,"—by omitting—"The fool sayeth in his heart," &c. I wish I could palliate such injustice by ascribing it to error—but, that is impossible.—I send you also general Carrera's manifesto, written after the murder of his illustrious brothers at Mendoza. The eloquence, pathos and perspicuity of both compositions will captivate your soul: the *Documentary proofs* subjoined to both will command your implicit assent to every word he utters. It will afflict you to reflect on the sacrifice of such unshaken patriots, by monarchical firebrands in the mask of independents.

In the proposals of the Lastre and O'Higgin's party to the Spaniards at the infamous surrender promoted by the English commodore *Hillyar* (See Poinsett's "Review") they ascribe all the blame of the rebellion to the *Carreras*, and that at the earliest epoch, "*they* had indicated *treacherous designs of independence*."—Lastre and O'Higgins basely capitulated and submitted to the Spaniards, excepted the *Carreras*, who were to be sent prisoners to Lima; and when they escaped from prison, O'Higgins marched against them to enforce the treaty. But the viceroy having gained his ends by British management, now refused to ratify the articles, and the Chilians united when it was too late. Col. P. re-

marking their devotedness to the cause, observes, "they said with Artigas, we will be the allies but not the vassals of Buenos-Ayres." Having described their valour, patriotism, and character which he perfectly understood from long and personal acquaintance, col. Poinsett pathetically relates their murder (by order of San Martin) "on the very day that an order arrived from Buenos-Ayres to have them conveyed to the capital. Despotism had found a ready engine in the governor of Mendoza; Luzuriaga hastened to imbrue his hands in the blood of *the bravest champions of the liberty of South-America.*"

"The names of these victims of faction will live in the annals of history, and their memory will be dear to all who cherish liberty."

Of Luis de Carrera, the same who volunteered on board the *Essex*, as related in Porter's Journal, Col. P. states:—"He was one of nature's fairest works; elegant in his person, graceful and courtly in his manners; brave, generous and humane. At the [former] battle of Maipu, where the Chilians contended against each other, he took one of O'Higgins's officers behind him on horseback, to save him from the soldiery, and exerted himself to stop the carnage."

I had the following anecdote from captain R——, formerly of this city, who so signally distinguished himself at the battle of Yerbabuena:

"Some time after the patriot army of Chili had retreated across the Andes, its officers gave a ball to those of the Buenos-Ayrean army who were stationed at Mendoza. At that ball, a letter was accidentally dropped from the pocket of a gentleman in the views of the royalists, and written (of course) to a brother royalist, wherein he tells him in substance:—THINGS ARE GOING BADLY FOR THE ROYAL CAUSE, AND UNLESS THE CARRERAS CAN BE DESTROYED, MATTERS WILL GET WORSE. THEY ARE THE LIFE AND SOUL OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. This letter was picked up by a young lady, and handed to one of the officers from Mendoza and sent to Buenos-Ayres. The testimony of a royalist, thus incidentally procured, must convince the most sceptical of the sound principles of the *late*, the martyred Carreras."

Had Carrera been president of Chili instead of Lastre, the *Essex* and our countrymen would have received the protection due to them. Gen. C. used to repeat, that *the capture of the Essex led to the ruin of Chili*; for that little frigate had given sufficient employment to the British commander, and prevented him from using the baleful influence which afterwards produced a fatal surrender! It caused the removal of the patriot army from the frontier, and it became in great part dispersed. Lastre,* more effectually to make his peace with the royalists, was signing an order for Carrera's execution, believing him still in the prison of Chillan—"when Carrera (who had escaped) presented himself before him in the habit of a monk. On discovering him to be armed, Lastre fell upon his knees, and begged his life. Carrera put the order in his pocket, and only threw its author into prison--hastened to rally the scattered troops, and marched with a handful of men against

* This traitor had assumed the office and title of "Supreme Director."

the enemy; but it was too late. The effect of Hillyar's and Lastre's capitulation was *then* irretrievable.--All this you have heard commodore PORTER relate. This discerning officer thus speaks of general Jose Miguel de Carrera:

"North-Americans may always count on a true friend in him. On us rested his best hopes for securing the liberties of his country: and if any advantages are to result to the United States from a connection with the South, to his aid I am confident, we shall be chiefly indebted for them. He is a patriot of the first class. I cannot better make known his character than by saying,—*he is the Washington of the South.*"

This is extracted from a very long letter written by the commodore in August 1817, most of which was then published in a New-York paper,—without giving it as his. All this evidence was known to the "VOYAGER," who disregarded all! Now, you have an index to the provoking cause of my disgust.

Had *San Martin* been out of the country, and Buenos-Ayorean arts suspended, a reconciliation would have been easily effected by a zealous and honest mediator between Carrera and O'Higgins; as both were generous, though most unequally endowed with talent. But, the mask has been thrown aside; the dagger has drank the best of patriot blood; and the perpetrators secure in uncontrollable superiority, are ready to brave public opinion, to laugh at odium, and to exclaim with an instigator in the tragedy: "What need we fear who knows it, when none can call our *power* to account?"

You will be able to glean useful information on the revolutions of the South, from Moreno's Memoirs, p. 127 to 196,—(the whole volume is interesting;) from Mier y Guerra's History of the Revolution in Mexico, although the opening chapters are tinged with the spirit of controversial animosity. Porter's Journal and Private Letters, Johnson's Letters on Chili, Niles's Register, the Commissioners' Reports and the Periodical Work, *El Espanol*, published in London, you have already read.* I believe however, and I say it without boast or bias,—that the manuscript documents I have been so fortunate as to obtain, will enable me to cast much additional light on the subject,—at last unburdened of political polemics.

You will better understand the packet of South-American newspapers, from this key to the nature of their management:

Of "*El Abogado Nacional*," or National Advocate of Buenos-Ayres, Mr. *Agrelo*, a late exile, is editor on the part of government. By this service he most probably saved his life; as he had been kept a prisoner on board of a vessel in the harbour of Buenos-Ayres for many months after his return from the United States.

M. *Henriquez*, translator of Bissett's Sketch of Democracy, and government-printer, is editor of *El Censor*,—The Censor of Buenos-

* The documents concerning Venezuela, Walton's Work, Dr. Burke's writings, and the "Outline," as relates to New-Granada and Venezuela, contain many grains of fact from which you must separate the chaff.

Ayres. It was for reprehending the monarchical tenets of the Censor in the *Cronica*, &c. that *Moreno* and *Pazos* were banished. The "voyager" insinuates that the Censor was in *jest*, and that "*the Chronicle took up the affair seriously*:" that the Cabildo put an end to the dispute; that the Censor passed into other hands, "and the paper has since advanced nothing but republican principles."—This assertion is untrue; and that insinuation fallacious: for, the editor of the Chronicle might well take up the affair *seriously*, when the Director (*Puerreydon*) thought so "seriously" of his political oppugnation, as to send him out of the country without a hearing. This was a serious joke truly.

All these papers and others are supported at the expense of government: an account of one is a history of the whole. The "*Cronica Argentina*" was an independent exception.

El Duende, The Sylph (or Fairy) published in Santiago, the capital of Chili: Its editor is Mr. *Monteagudo*, a man of abilities, but unprincipled; successively jacobin, republican and royalist. It was he who carried the murderous order express from San Martin, in Chili, to the governor of Mendoza, for the butchery of the *CARRERAS*.

El Sol, The Sun, by a clerk in one of the public offices.

El Argos de Chili,—The Chilian Argus, was conducted by Mr. *Rivas*, secretary to Mr. *Irrisari*, minister in London, and at that time a clerk in the department of state. Mr. *Rivas* is a native of Caraccas.

Titles and editors have since undergone changes, the gazettes moving on in their prescribed track,—satellites of the respective *administrations*, without regard to first principles of government or considerations of public good. Now we behold them the keen allies of independence; soon after, the mere clickers and worshippers of official power, excusers of abuses, and base instruments of corruption.—Every thing degenerates in proportion to its distance from popular controul. *When popular fatuity rises to such a pitch as to discourage perfect freedom of enquiry on all subjects, then do the people inflict a blow of suicide on their own rights, and public debauchery advances without restraint.*

I have frankly submitted to your consideration, my opinions on the expediency of an affectionate mediation,—on privateering,—on the leading principles which should direct our domestic policy and foreign intercourse. They are the result of serious and impartial reflection on my part; I am confident that you will not condemn them without examination.

Major S—h will inform you minutely of our dialogues and circumambulations. Aristotle himself was not a greater peripatetic, if he was a more rigid logician than our friend. We canvassed all the topics that are hammered, or expected to come on the anvil, this session; the Slave-question, foreign relations; home-manufactures. (not omitting the manufacture of *litigation*, the most flourishing of all,) and the capability of the South-Americans for freedom. I venture to predict that the major will never be prosecuted under the Athenian law against neutrality in public parties, tumults and sedition! I love his fervor; so decided, without dogmatism! and as tolerant of others' opinions as independent in making up his own. I am thankful for your former in-

troductio*n* to so staunch a republican—a genuine disciple of the *old school*.

In the Missouri slave-dispute, I need not tell you, that he glows on the *North* side of it, like a comet in its perihelion.—Those on the *South* side of the debate are even more violent. I see, but with less reason than this old soldier of Washington.—If I do not concur in all his projects, I participate in his alarm.—*Never* before was my heart weighed down with such a load of depression.

I reminded the major of the republican spirit and character of the *Southerns*,—my old masters in politics; and he retorted: “A whig parliament, sir, established the funding system, and gave William III. the means of corrupting parliaments: a whig parliament passed the Septennial Act in 1716, and put a period to civil liberty in England.—We are jealous of open enemies; but Heaven only can guard us against *friends*. I admire the southern people, and would save them from themselves.

“When the “three-fifths” provision was inserted in the constitution, I thought that we stepped off with the wrong foot foremost. But, the proposal to extend it ought to have been *postponed* until the domestic evils that harass us should be removed,—and until we should settle our South-American policy. What *evil spirit* conjured up this topic of effervescence at *this time*, and threw down a thousand apples of discord? A question of such compass required years of previous discussion.”

We endeavoured to calculate the enormous contributions levied throughout the Union, in form of lawyers-fees and costs of suit for seven successive years; but the aggregate sum was *so immense as to exceed belief*—and he has taken a memorandum for revision. “Lawyers,” said he, “are neither better nor worse than other men; every profession has its peculiar *vices*; but discovering, that the generality of mankind are only *adult children*, they tacitly assume their entire guardianship, and hold them in endless minority.—They are particularly accused of insolency,—but rather unjustly, as *hauteur* is the natural fruit of boundless influence. A patrician order will always *feel* as a superior class. With a simple code, we should be enabled to do without lawyers; for the fundamental principles of law, viz. the force of *moral obligation*, and the *nature of contracts*, the *distinctions between right and wrong*, are so obvious to all, so clear and plain, that every man may be his own lawyer.—Silly people are led to believe, that the intricacy and ambiguity, studiously kept up, are inseparable from the nature of law, which in truth, is simply a *rule prescribed by the general will* for the guidance of the whole body of the society.—If we understand our own words,—five, ten, or twenty millions of persons can likewise comprehend theirs. Must I employ another man to fathom my intents and translate *my* English into law-english, or law-gibberish? It is preposterous to suppose so for a moment! The order is supported by hereditary arts on one side, and popular imbecility on the other. A man who is once taught to believe that he cannot judge in matters of *plain* law, soon ceases to think for himself in matters of government. He sinks into a passive being, and accepts opinions rea-

dy-made." Here he recapitulated the history of ancient and modern states,---affirming that their decline was uniformly precipitated by the lawyers. "An excellent rule of court was adopted by the Areopagus in its days of purity, of strictly confining the pleaders to a bare representation of the facts belonging to the case, without ornament or declamation. Hence the judgment of the hearers remained tranquil, and the cause was not drowned in a flood of rhetorical declamation. When this usage was relaxed---orators spoke for vanity or fees; and the commonwealth fell when *Philip*, (AFTER the unfortunate admission of Macedon into the Achæan league) bribed the orators of Athens.---Rome exemplifies the same sad lesson, and every modern state abounds with cases in point.

"England is a tortured example of the truths I assert.---Never can I forget the affecting picture drawn by my aged grandfather of his venerable sire, who used to relate with streaming eyes, the seduction of Cromwell and the treachery of the Presbyterians; *his by the advice of the great lawyers*, who advised him to grasp the crown, (and he went as near it as he could,) though he refused titles;---theirs by disappointment and love of domination. '*Two stars so malignant in opposition, were fatal in conjunction;*' down fell the commonwealth, betrayed like Troy; and I (he would say) became a wanderer, like old Anchises. Gashed with the wounds of fifteen battles on the side of parliament, I suffered deeper smart from the defection of my countrymen, and the failure of freedom.---It was the logick of the English barristers which first sapped and finally annulled the obligation of the representative to his constituents,---generally held sacred (with a few exceptions,) from the foundation of the Saxon heptarchy till the passing of the *Septennial Act*.---Then it was openly disavowed *in order* to excuse *parliamentary usurpation* of the most flagrant kind, by which a triennial body prolonged its power to *seven years!!!*

Being established for a limited time, and for a specific purpose, (says my favourite Lansdowne) they turned or tried to turn a temporary trust, like Decenvirs into a perpetual [at least a septennial] tyranny.---I must quote something farther, and verbatim on this *vital* point.---On it "hang the law and the prophets," *politically*.

"He who commits a trust, parts only with the *administration*; it is not possible to convert a *trust* into an *absolute right*, or into a discretionary and independent power.

"*The English parliament, intoxicated with success, avowed a doctrine destructive of the first principles of free governments:* it was "declared, the people when assembled (and they never were assembled, i. e. at that crisis) were every thing: when they had made their "election, they were nothing; and parliament became *omnipotent*.---"Though the supreme power in every community, formed to be free, "must be indivisible and inalienate; though it be impossible it should "submit *its sovereignty* to an emperor, a king or a senate, without "violating the act by which it exists as a community, without annihilating itself---and out of nothing, nothing can arise---yet parliament "maintained that its power and prerogatives were paramount, discretionary, and incontrollable, not only over the persons from whom it

"pretended a delegation, but over those provinces and colonies which were not included in the farce of representation." (See *Lessons to a Prince*, page 82-83.)

"This done, it was easy to show, that a *part* (and a small part too,) is greater than the whole. Our little mimics chatter the same jargon in America; and prove as inconclusively as British jackdaws, that a delegate represents a nation, and not his electors; forgetting, that it is only as *their agent* and organ he has a voice in the legislature of the state or the nation. They try to evade responsibility by a subterfuge:—Thus heresy in England is transfused as an orthodox dogma on America; and, should it ever happen to expire there, it would probably be revived here, by a juridical metempsychosis. This mental debauchery is the more dangerous to our democratical politics, as the love of sophistical conquest becomes as infectious, as that of warlike achievements. The sophister elated by establishing one paradox on the ruins of a true proposition, pants for new renown, and boldly advances at last to enthrone political blasphemy on the summits of everlasting truth. The more difficult the enterprise, the greater the glory.—This is a trait of human nature:—the lawyers are not so blameable as those who tempt them with *political* power. Whatever men gather from books with painful study, they value highly, though it be worthless or injurious in itself. Light there, you know is refracted once more, and the student beholds objects entirely inverted.—The worst of it undoubtedly is, that the encroachments on liberty are unobserved, when military power (from which we are in no danger,) is very scrupulously watched. WILKINSON and JACKSON, both of whom deserve monuments, have been baited under the *hue and cry* of congressional halloos, while the eyes of the nation were diverted from the *tremendous doctrines and assumptions* of the judges. I attribute this inconsistency entirely to the *esprit de corps* among the gentlemen of the bar in congress. Men rarely or never anticipate mischief from those of their own profession.—I do not question the integrity of any of them; but I deprecate their prejudices.

"You have asked my opinion of South-American susceptibility of liberty, and I will answer you, with all my heart. Love of freedom is so natural to man that he could never be enslaved, were it not for his indolence, his weakness, or his fears.—Montesquieu, (says the author last cited,) as a philosophical historian is extremely valuable: as a politician, he is useless or he is pernicious. The opinion that climate should produce and modify government, is fanciful, perhaps puerile; but the idea that any natural and necessary cause should generate a *slave*, is unphilosophic, untrue, and detestable."

"The glorious resistance of the Swiss to arbitrary power did not originate in finespun theories, but in unsufferable insolence, and grievous acts of oppression. They were illiterate and superstitious; yet they established their liberties and laid the foundation of prosperity and intellectual improvement. The nobles had looked with jealousy on the increasing comfort and civilization of the people. Gesler the Austrian governor of Uri, ordered a peasant's (Stauffacher's) house to be burned, because it appeared to him too neat. Landenberg, of Unterwalden,

seized a farmer's oxen, and tauntingly told him to draw the plow himself. The outrageous doings in Altorf, and the wrongs of Tell &c. filled the cup; the leaders plotted with good faith in favour of emancipation in November 1307, and the revolution began. They resolutely drove out the tyrants, and founded their freedom. Like outrages were followed by like consequences in other cantons, till eight were numbered in the confederacy in 1341. Naylor, the historian, remarks, vol. I. 259, That it is not so very difficult to *keep* mankind ignorant and depressed; but, to *unteach* them what they have once learned, is beyond the reach of despotic power. The simple manners of the Helvetians long excluded the arts of chicane and maintained their republic in *envied* felicity. It was if possible, a greater eyesore to the Austrians than the liberty of Greece to the Persians.—The prosperity of republican Helvetia was a constant and augmenting source of mortification to the emperor Leopold. While that dangerous confederacy flourished, it was in vain for fortune to smile. Every enjoyment was embittered by the cruel prospect of triumphant freedom.” (Naylor, page 791, vol. II.)

“The South-Americans are probably in a state somewhat resembling that of the Romans, after expelling the Tarquins---some germs of nobility remained to oppress them,---which unfortunately they never abolished,---not even when they created tribunes of the people. *I confess, there is much to be done in Spanish-America*; but I maintain that *any* people may be qualified for the reception of freedom in the space of a single generation. The majority of South-Americans may be trained for it in ten or fifteen years.---I agree with Rousseau, that every legitimate government is republican,---i. e. the creature of the general will. ---Otherwise the general will becomes subjected to a part. The most essential truths in politics are easily learnt. It is believed, that the Anglo-Saxon government, as modified by Alfred in the ninth century, ---was the freest institution ever reared in England---nor is this paying that lawgiver a great compliment. *Magna Charta*, with all its recognitions dwindled into a solemn jest, before royal prerogative and parliamentary omnipotence; and the boasted revolution of 1688 was only “a compact between the prince and princess of Orange, and the heads of certain families, attended by the mayor of London and other persons in the exercise of authority.”

“A thousand pretty common-places may be strung together on preserving free government; for that is the main point;---but the whole secret lies in a nutshell. *Let stewards not grow to their seats, and they will not grow arrogant.* In other words, *Beware of giving agents the means of transforming themselves into principals.* Division and responsibility are the only curbs against abuses of executive trust. Let the South-Americans look to it in laying the foundation!

“Men's dispositions being more mercenary now than formerly, an administration may purchase a majority with the people's money: therefore additional securities are wanted.---Executive patronage soon outweighs *amor patriæ*, and must either be divided or the term of service abridged. An interval of six or eight years ought to be interposed between elections of a chief magistrate, to prevent collusion, bargain and

sale in executive succession. *Wherever* the executive branch is invested with vast powers, it speedily absorbs all influence. Representatives, printers, officers of every kind rush headlong into the vortex. Appointments therefore ought to be divided among the people, the representatives and the executive. Military and naval officers should be selected by the latter; judges ought to be chosen by the representatives, and the major part of civil appointments be made by the houses in joint ballot.—If these precautions be neglected, the spirit of monarchy infallibly and speedily infects the body politic. No matter by what name it goes, if it generate servility, civil liberty will soon be extinct.—Instead of election controuling the executive power, the executive will controul election; he will take the citadel, and turn its guns against freedom of opinion. It is better that the legislature, annually chosen, should elect a president for two years, and re-elect him once, than that the people at large should choose him. A ferment ensues,—party-union is preached up as a canon, and all respect to the merit of a candidate is forgotten. Nomination becomes every thing, and election a passive formality.—Every government will suffer untimely dissolution, if its constitution do not give complete *efficiency* to the fundamental principles of rotation, limitation, and division of power—i. e. to all the means of responsibility.

“When the *Roscios*, the *Zeas*, the *Cadizes*, the republican delegates of Margarita, and their worthy colleagues, begin to lay the foundations of a permanent constitution, it is hoped they will leave no room for hereditary bodies or hereditary fraud. It is hoped that they will judiciously perform *Bolivar’s* injunctions respecting the administration of justice, hitherto an execrable mystery in the greater part of the globe.—Their example would be copied by all the South.—If they would avoid shipwreck.—Let them not mingle discordancies; let their constitution be black or white, or green or red,—in some way uniform. Pure representation is the *Palladium* of liberty—and of concord.”

In this earnest, discursive manner would the fluent major converse on the great principles that still animate him with an ardour almost youthful. Would to God that all our councils were filled with candour, virtue, sagacity and energy like his! The treasures of India and Peru could not make him swerve from the dictates of conscience; the honors and riches of a world could not purchase his vote. He is a statesman for the times,—but times and manners are not fitted for him. Parties and cabals, and sectional bargains are his abomination.—

He will more fully explain my motives for addressing these unornamented letters to you.

You will do me a kindness by transmitting a copy to the veteran general ARTIGAS. It will convince him, that at least one unhired pen in the United States has been drawn in vindication of South-American patriots. I could wish that Mr. *Monterosa*, his *secretary*, should receive another. I am strongly prepossessed in favor of a man so generously ambitious as to exchange the perquisites of a *padre*, a father of mummery, for the glory of being “father of his country.”

As for poor *Carrera*—liberal, gallant, accomplished, generous man! I am confident he is no more—else would I forward half a dozen co-

pies to *him*. On the 8th of Dec. last, young Mr.———of New-York, having requested a letter to gen. Carrera, I wrote one to oblige him, but reluctantly, as the general was reported to have been assassinated. I extract the following to show you, that duty and honor urged me to this exposition.—If any thing useful to our common country, is mingled with it; I am pleased. Here is the *extract*:

“The assassination of your brothers and the general proscription of your friends have almost reduced us to despair on your account.—It has even been reported that you had been assassinated; a very natural catastrophe in such a tragedy. Usurpers are callous; all means are welcome to *them*.—For these reasons your friends are filled with anxiety; and under this cloud of apprehension and uncertainty I pen this faint remembrancer of my esteem and affection.—*If you live*, I shall see or hear from you: If you have joined the murdered *Rodriguez*, in the shades below,—even there I could wish some good angel, some attendant and friendly spirit to convey an assurance of my unaltered and unalterable regard. Your conversations with me in New York, our numerous conferences on your republican projects for enlightening the people, &c. &c. are indelibly stamped on my memory.

“You have nevertheless been traduced *even here* by a miserable pen; but disregard the calumny, as I shall slay the calumniator, and neutralize all his venom. The creature has endeavoured to vilify your name and brand it with infamy: but his arrows shall recoil upon himself from the impenetrable shield of truth: Like the scorpion he shall be compelled to wound himself. The cause of justice and virtue is not confined to a corner; it is dear to generous hearts in every country.—All good men sympathize with you. They lament your afflictions, as well for your own merit, as on account of your subjected country.—Nor is their friendship limited by the grave itself,—unless all-destroying Time sets a bourne to spiritual as to animal existence.”*

I added much more, until anguished feeling obliged me to put up my pen. My promise is in a train of fulfilment. 1st. I entered a *caveat* against a bad book, of which I gave some specimens---a kind of vengeance more humane, I think, than the old *heroical* way of killing one's antagonist first, and then dragging his corpse at a horse's tail all round a city.---2d. In the enclosed, I have touched questions important to the best of causes,---very sincerely, but too trippingly I fear.---3d. Farther enquiry into *capability*, a nice point, involving the philosophy of history and of the human mind, I refer back to the major and yourself.---4th. Should providence allot me a little leisure, the remaining pledge shall be redeemed.

We are in a great crisis: Every faithful citizen ought to contribute his quota to the public good; ought to rouse the people from apathy, and summon all to perform their duty.---I have lent my humble mite,---and gladly lost sight of trivial objects (when possible,) to promote greater. None but a bad citizen or a stupid one can be regardless of his country's welfare, and indifferent to its danger.—*Adieu*.

* See note A. at the end.

(A.)

Supplementary Note on the Proscription and Murder of the Carreras

Historical composition requiring much time for deliberation, comparison and revision, would advance too slowly for the impatient reader. I therefore annex this very concise sketch.—It is taken chiefly from the journal of a most intelligent American traveller.

Soon after the defeat of O'Higgins at Rancagua, general Jose M. Carrera applied to general San Martin at Mendoza, for a supply of arms with which to equip the Chilians against the royalists. This officer replied that he would furnish the arms required, *provided* he (San Martin) should be permitted to *appoint officers for the men* to be so levied and armed. Carrera saw his drift, and refused:—Affairs had now reached a crisis: the patriotic army of Chili under Carrera was overpowered after an obstinate resistance; and the remnant retreated across the Andes to Mendoza.—The republican leaders experienced the insults of San Martin, and the men were subject to his seduction. General José Miguel came to the United States, and Luis and John Joseph went to Buenos-Ayres.

The exertions of gen. Carrera to negotiate a loan and make contracts in the United States, are known to every one. His urbanity, frankness, diligence and republican zeal, gained him the esteem of all who knew him.—Having made fruitless endeavours to promote his objects in New-York, I wrote letters by him to my friends in this city: one of whom generously lent him a sum of money, and used his influence to facilitate a contract with others.—O'Higgins, the enemy of Carrera, since spoke of Mr. ———, and *repeatedly* and emphatically declared:—“I love and respect that man, for his fervor in the liberation and welfare of Chili.” Carrera sailed for his destination; but, intrigues fomented on the voyage, forced the squadron into Buenos-Ayres, against his will, and exposed him to the machinations of his enemies. He was seized and put in close confinement on board a man of war; and his intimate friends were incarcerated likewise. A pretence of high treason was set up against the citizen of another government, and jurisdiction was usurped by that of Buenos-Ayres.—“When at length, says he, “my wife was permitted to see me, I wrote to the director Pueyrredon to enquire for the cause of this persecution, and urging him to have me brought before the tribunal. He did not answer me; but I was transferred to the barracks of Terrada, and my confinement continued there. This change was intended to afford *San Martin*, who had arrived from Chili, a conference with me, which was reduced in substance to *solicit my friendship, and make me subservient to his absurd plans*. I would not agree to any thing; and I believe my situation became worse on this account.”* Passports were finally granted to all

* It was in this interview that an embassy to this country, and a salary of \$10,000 were offered to the general. They were repelled with firmness and dignity; the general protesting against the assumptions of his adversaries.

the brothers for the United States; the Beneventes being set at liberty with orders to leave the country; so that involuntary exile was prescribed, when voluntary banishment was rejected.

The general was again committed to a floating prison; but was acquitted of the sham charge of treason by the very judges of Puerreydon. He then feared that the director would sacrifice him to appease his resentment, or to hide his shame; and by the aid of some friends, made his escape.—General Lecor gave him an asylum; but the intimacy between the governments of Buenos-Ayres and Brazil, left him in the jaws of danger,—continually menaced with assassination.

When seized in Buenos-Ayres, he lost all his papers; the soldiers carrying them off as he was conveyed to prison. Private harpies there took advantage of his embarrassments to rob him of his property.—His letter of the 21st of May 1817, relates these occurrences at length, the baseness of Lavaysse, &c. &c. Another of the 17th of September, gives a melancholy picture of his dependent situation:

“By this [the Clifton’s entering Buenos-Ayres against his will,] I lost the expedition, my share of glory, my liberty, my country, my property; and driven to-day to the necessity of living under the protection of a government which looks on me with suspicion;* not knowing when I may be able to better my fortune, nor how to extricate my family from misery, and from the clutches of their tyrants. Such is the fruit of my travels, toils, humiliations, dangers, &c. &c.—If I had remained quiet at Buenos-Ayres, instead of seeking assistance, (he means in the United States) my condition would not now be so forlorn; on the contrary, I should not have given time for the intrigues of my rivals, and I should at this time be in my own country as I was in 1812.—Useless reflections! they only serve to render sensibility more acute.”

Meanwhile his brothers, John Joseph and Lewis, were on their way to Mendoza, intending to return to their country whenever they could do so with safety. They were there thrown into prison, on futile and ridiculous pretexts.—Whether the intercession of our commissioners for them with the Buenos-Ayrean government would have had much influence, I dare not, and cannot affirm. The impatience of the commander-in-chief would not suffer him to listen to the voice of justice, policy or mercy. Before any orders reached Mendoza from Buenos-Ayres, he had butchered them. San Martin’s army was panic-struck on the 5th. of April 1818, at Cancharayada, near Talca, and so totally

* Our hopeful “voyager,” p. 232, vol. I. makes the Buenos-Ayrean agent ask: “If he (Carrera) be the real patriot, why does he live under the protection of this government?” i. e. the Portuguese. The voyager ought *then* to have asked, why the government of Buenos-Ayres were in league with that of Brazil?—The first question is answered already: Carrera sought to avoid assassination. From p. 232 till p. 238 is a tissue of the most *unfeeling* invective against this distinguished victim.—The cause of Chilian independence and public right he affects (p. 236) to call “personal affairs, private quarrels and bickerings.” This is worthy of the writer who treats public hostilities as “a private and local war between Artigas and the Portuguese!” Page 267–8 are more rancorous if possible.—In like manner, from p. 47 to 58, vol. II. all is written to villify the fallen Carrera. Can such a writer possess any human feelings?

dispersed that every thing for a time was given up as lost.* Under the operation of malice, terror and disappointment, he dispatched Monteagudo with an order (as stated above) to Luzuriaga, the governor of Mendoza, for the immediate execution of the Carreras. The messenger arrived at the scene on the morning of the 8th, and the order was executed in the Plaza on the evening of the same day. A Mr. *Wilkinson*, an Englishman, happened to be a spectator of the tragedy, which he said was one of the most affecting and unexpected scenes he had ever witnessed. He described it very feelingly to an American gentleman two or three days after.

Both the prisoners were noble looking men, of fine person and commanding mein. Dragged out as they were, unprepared and squalid with the filth of their dungeons, they had a most manly and dauntless appearance.—What would have deformed others, begrimed as they were, made *them* look more majestic.—They were hurried to the spot, and a confessor or “sin-absolver” (as Shakespeare says) brought to insult the heroes with his “tenders” of ghostly comfort. *Juan Jose Carrera* told him to *stand aside*,—with an observation implying, that this was no time for mummery; and asked for a moment’s pause to look round on his friends, if he had any. *Luis*, the younger brother, yielded to priestly solicitations, and conformed to the usages of his church. Both the martyrs solemnly and repeatedly protested that they were innocent,—that they were about to be basely and causelessly murdered. Leave was granted them to embrace, and bid a final earthly adieu to each other.—This sight, said *Wilkinson*, would have moved a heart of stone; it was inexpressibly affecting. When pinioned to the seat of execution (banquillo) they begged that they should not be blindfolded, but be permitted to give the word of command to the guard; that they might die LIKE INNOCENT MEN, AND LIKE SOLDIERS. *Their request was refused*. A handkerchief was thrown over their faces;—the guard fired, and they ceased to exist.—They were brave, patriotic and popular, and therefore unpardonable in the eyes of a man inimical to freedom, and who hoped to enslave the Chilians by depriving them of their greatest leaders.

As to the silly story of their conspiring with the royalist prisoners to murder the governors of Mendoza, of San Juan and San Luis, it is enough to recollect, that of *all* Chilenos (Chilians) *they* were peculiarly hostile to the royalists, by whom they were implacably hated; that they were but *two men*, two unarmed men, in the dungeons of Mendoza, and in fetters, (under the care of *Luzuriaga*, a *Buenos-Ayorean* jailor,) at the distance of 180 miles due north of San Juan, and 246 miles due east from San Luis, where there was a strong garrison commanded by a governor of Buenos-Ayres. Besides, there is a dreary waste of sixty miles in breadth between that place and Mendoza.

In the Duende of July 6, 1818, edited by the base *Monteagudo*, appear the most hardened and ferocious remarks on this unrelenting murder. He states that a number of proclamations had arrived by last mail from Buenos-Ayres, directed by Don J. M. Carrera to the inhab-

*In the confusion of retreat, the Chilian soldiers had cried out: “Send us the Carreras, and we’ll drive the Spaniards into the sea!”

itants of Chili.—“It commences in the tone of a funeral oration, thus:—*“Where are our brothers, our compatriots, John Joseph and Lewis de Carrera? The Duende answers him: Thy brethren John Joseph and Lewis de Carrera are where thou shouldest be, under ground;”* (baxo de tierra.”)

This Monteagudo had fled from the rout at Cancharayada, and is, (like some other malignants) a great coward. Happening subsequently, when some of his former notions revived perhaps, to utter an expression in favor of CONVENING A CONGRESS in Chili, he was banished that very day (as a dangerous and treasonable talker) across the mountains to Punta San Luis. His prostitution could not save him.

General *Jose Miguel de Carrera*, according to news already published, had been inveigled into the toils of his enemy. His life has doubtless been forfeited by his patriotism. Every republican heart will be a grateful monument of his worth.*

P. S. This is the age of revolutions. Sudden tidings of unlooked for events almost overwhelm our powers of reflection. Absorbed in wonder, we can hardly call off the mind to description or enquiry. Buonaparte saw his victorious prospects blasted in a moment; all was changed in a single night. More agreeable is our surprize. The hero, statesman, scholar and patriot, whom many among us had lamented as dead, appears to have eluded his enemies, and is now combating them in the field. JOSE M. DE CARRERA, if we may believe intelligence received from Buenos-Ayres since the above was printed off, has united himself with the patriot army of ARTIGAS. In enterprize, skill and prowess he is a host. A decisive engagement was daily expected between the republican forces and the bands of Buenos-Ayres. If just revenge could be glutted on the field, we may anticipate the carnage. If victory leans to the side of justice, the issue cannot be doubtful.—If this general survives, Buenos-Ayres will be revolutionized, and Chili yet taste freedom.† It is vain to re-echo “measures not men.” We must have virtuous patriots to establish pure principles. We must have republican *men* to maintain republican measures. Goodness must be protected by greatness. Feeble minds are apt to buoy themselves by corruption; to grasp at the meanest stratagems and court the foibles of human nature. Great men aim more directly at the object; appeal to reason and confide in virtue; trusting to an energetic prosecution of honorable means for success. Carrera is a man of this cast; frank, firm, and full of resources, he will not dishonor his name by any thing that

* Nothing could move the indurated bosom of the “voyager,” who reprehends the general, p. 49–50, vol. II. (in note) for *exposing* the tyrannical conduct of Puerreydon and San Martin &c. in a memoir which, he *makes* him to say, general Lecor had given him the means, he probably had said permission,—to publish: but, that he ought to have *scorned* such publication!

† Our “voyager” has laughed at the oppressions of Chili, p. 236, vol. I. “The story of Buenos-Ayres having made a conquest of Chili, and intending to hold it under a *kind of subjection* nearly as bad as that of Spain, is not worth a refutation.” Yet, I have seen letters from Chili, written by Americans, which substantiate the “story” as undeniably as could any official testimony whatever.

savors of mediocrity. Though he must be gentle with prejudice, he will never compromise with meanness.—May his good fortune be commensurate with his talents and patriotism! *Artigas, Carrera*, and their brave associates, are the lifeguards of liberty.—One decided victory would put an end to civil war and to usurpation in Buenos-Ayres, and lead to the speedy emancipation of Chili.—Lord Cochrane's repulse before Lima, which I would mourn under other circumstances, may accelerate the expulsion of San Martin's myrmidons. I am glad of his failure, because the faction in whose service he was, are anti-republican, and because (if rumor does not belie him) he has sullied his fame by petty and unlawful pillage. The gloom begins to vanish. I anticipate the rising glories of Chili, Buenos-Ayres and Banda-Oriental &c. &c. under the auspices of *Artigas* and *Carrera*. I think I see usurpers deposed, tranquillity restored, and freedom revived—I indulge in the pleasurable fancy, and “celebrate (in your jocund phrase) a jubilee of the heart.”

END OF PART I.

OPINIONS OF THE “VOYAGE,” &c.

The “voyager” being deeply stung by the first number of the “Strictures,” attempted to bolster himself by the opinion of Mr. Jefferson, which he quotes in an angry effusion in a Washington newspaper.

The sage of Monticello, (says he) in a letter to Mr. Rodney, (part of which he was so good as to communicate to me a few days ago) thus expresses himself: “I return you my thanks for the work of Mr. Brackenridge. So many contradictory accounts have been published of late with respect to the state of things in South-America, that I have determined to read nothing on the subject, that is not sanctioned by a *responsible name*!—In reading Mr. Brackenridge's book I perceive a mist dispersing from before my eyes! I agree with him perfectly, that *a people must be educated and prepared for freedom*.”

Mr. Jefferson is right in his belief of the necessity of popular education and discipline; but *he* does not say, that usurpers should be the preceptors. Mr. Jefferson judged charitably; not imagining that the “Secretary” *could* write such sheer romance on a subject of importance and notoriety, where he was liable to detection at every slip. He was misled!—In verity, therefore, Mr. Jefferson's opinion turns *against* him; for, since the “responsible name,” [risum teneatis!] avouches fiction instead of fact, the conclusion founded on a fallacy, falls with it.—On this point I gave my notion in my reply, as published in the Baltimore Patriot. I extract the following:—

“As to the sanction of the illustrious, the admirable *Jefferson*, I freely declare my disapprobation of besieging great men, for the purpose of trepanning them into *ex parte* decisions and hasty opinions.—Jews and Gentiles throng his halls, jostling and *capsizing* one another to touch the hem of his garment, or obtain, as a relic, the scrawl of his pen.—Could kings see and feel the glory of such homage, they would

almost be tempted to resign crowns and break chains, rise to the rank of men, and leave the stage amidst their plaudits. While the great *Jefferson* draws towards the frontiers of another world, it is unfair, it is ungenerous and cruel, to distract his attention in favour of undeserving objects."

Not to insist too strenuously on the propriety of my own dictum, I submit the whole matter to the arbitration of Don *Manuel Moreno*.---Upright, judicious and learned,---a native of *Buenos-Ayres*, we must acknowledge his superior fitness to decide intelligently and impartially on questions concerning his own country. I copy his candid and dignified answer.

From the Baltimore Patriot.

TO H. M. BRACKENRIDGE, ESQ.

SIR,---It was with no small degree of surprise, that I saw my name mentioned by you in the *Washington City Gazette*, as an assistant to the author of *Strictures*, or analysis of your *Voyage to South-America*.

During my distinguished exilement, as you have pleased to call it, and which some months since ceased to be involuntary, I have uniformly declined public controversy in this country, as well as any thing connected with political characters. I am only a mere spectator, without any pretensions whatever; and I may add, a constant student. I have twice refused overtures from the late administration of *Buenos-Ayres* to become its political writer and apologist. The first application was made to me on the 6th of October 1817, by Mr. *Aguirre*, the very representative of *Puerreydon*, in this country, whose original letter with my answer, together with more recent proof of this truth, may be shown to you if required.

"An extract," you say, "of a private letter from me to him (Dr. MORENO) has also been furnished.--By whom?" Before you should have come to the conclusion you draw, you ought to have redeemed the question "by whom," from any rational uncertainty. There are different ways, by which such an extract (or rather a mere reference) may have come to the knowledge of a third person. The matter is no longer a secret. Your inferences, then, are not facts sufficient to justify the accusation against me. I hope to find you (such is your promise,) "still willing to do me justice."

Therefore, you sir, have no right to drag my name into public glare, nor to disturb my avocations; much less to make me the subject of suspicions; when the author of the said *Strictures* is known to you; and were it not so, you might have applied to the printer for information; who, I suppose, was authorized to produce it.

However, I beg to be distinctly understood, that there is no individual squabble in this case. No candid and liberal man takes offence when he meets with mistakes and contradiction. Nor must friendship suffer by a difference of views and opinions; for as a great philosopher and poet says, it is fair to dissent without quarrelling; *incolumen semper licuit amicitia*.

Conceiving that there is no necessity or pretence for animosity, I

here tender my services to you, as a token of respect for your person, as well as for your production. It is a literary subject; a question about the political merit of Mr. *Brackenridge's Book*. That book, I am sorry to perceive, is *full of errors*, respecting my country, its concerns, and its various historical, political and statistical departments. Being conversant with these topics from infancy, and convinced of the impossibility of giving a true picture of a country from a *transient visit*, or antiquated books, I cannot but regret that the author of the *Voyage to South-America in 1817 and 1818*, did not consult with some person of experience, and have it corrected before publication. Distinctly I declare, I shall not swerve from my resolution to avoid public disputation. I am nevertheless disposed to enter into a private discussion with Mr. B. to assist him in detecting and expunging his errors. The subject has been for me the study of many years, such as was required by my former station. My views have been enlarged by a long and easy residence in England, and now in these United States for three years. *I am grieved*, also at the doctrines of the book, which lean against the rights of the people. As a citizen of Buenos-Ayres, as an advocate of liberty, and a friend to the United States, I am willing to sacrifice some useful time in enabling Mr. BRACKENRIDGE to render his work more worthy of patronage, by an excision of its faults; and this, I hope, will be received as the best proof of the most distinguished consideration, with which I have the honour to repeat myself, sir, to be,

Yours respectfully,

M. MORENO,

At Mr. Solomon's, No. 7, N. }
Calvert street, Baltimore. }

CORRECTIONS.

ERRATA.—The reader will please to excuse our omitting to correct several verbal and literal “mistakes of the press,” which he will easily observe; as in page 32, Letter I. “half a year” should be “half the year.”—He will encounter elsewhere “gentleman” instead of of “gentlemen,”—&c. &c.

In the estimate of black and coloured population, in note, p. 32, he will read 1,377,810 instead of 1,377,310; which, as he will recollect, is the aggregate number of 1,191,364 slaves, and the item of 186,446, being “free persons, [of colour &c.] except Indians not taxed,”—as stated in the census of 1810. De Pradt’s computation seems rather conjectural; but the enumeration of the present year will give us precise returns.

Dele note to p. 127–128—(if he please!) because it involves nothing very pertinent in statistical or political investigation, and is only tolerable, by reason of the sublime meditation it produces, and which is almost inseparable from the awful grandeur such geological scenes present.

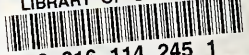
Dele also the remark p. 153, on “poisoning our politics;” as it appears *rather late*. “From our inurement to a kind of Mithridatic practice, we may fearlessly defy the infection of the Holy Alliance itself!”—[This is the very expression of my venerable correspondent.]







LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 016 114 245 1

